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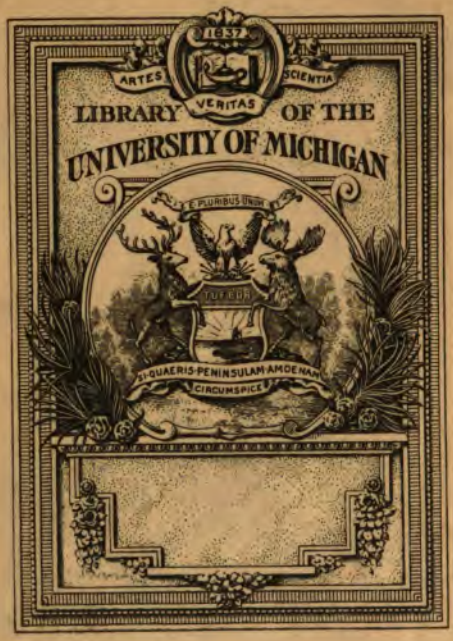
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CHRISTIAN EXAMINER

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CONTENTS

OF

VOL. XXXI. — THIRD SERIES, VOL. XIII.

No. I.

ART. I. — Banking and the Bank of the United States. Six Letters from Nicholas Biddle, Esq. to Hon. John M. Clayton, - 1

ART. II. — Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians, including their Private Life, Government, Laws, Arts, Manufactures, Religion, and Early History. By J. G. WILKINSON, - 38

ART. III. — Hovey's Monthly Magazine of Horticulture, - 60

ART. IV. — Méthode de Vocalisation, en deux parties, par Auguste Panseron, Professeur de Chant au Conservatoire, &c., &c., 83

ART. V. — A Discourse on the Transient and Permanent in Christianity. By THEODORE PARKER, - - - - 98

ART. VI. — Chronicles of the Pilgrim Fathers of the Colony of Plymouth from 1602 to 1625, now first collected from Original Records and Contemporary printed Documents, and illustrated with Notes. By ALEXANDER YOUNG, - - - 116

CRITICAL NOTICES. — The Four Gospels: with a Commentary. By A. A. LIVERMORE. Vol. I. Matthew, - - - 127

The Comprehensive Church; or Christian Unity and Ecclesiastical Union. By the Rev. THOMAS VAIL, A. M. - 128

A Sermon preached before the First Congregational Society in Burlington, Vt. By their Minister, GEORGE G. INGERSOLL, 131

An Oration delivered in Charlestown, Massachusetts, on the 17th of June 1841, in Commemoration of the Battle of Bunker Hill. By GEORGE E. ELLIS, - - - - - - 133

Names and Titles of the Lord Jesus Christ. By CHARLES SPEAR, - - - - - - - - 134

Christian Union; A Discourse delivered before the Unitarian Society at Trenton. By EDGAR BUCKINGHAM, - 134

A Vindication of the Character and Condition of the Females employed in the Lowell Mills against the Charges contained in the Boston Times, and the Boston Quarterly Review. By ELISHA BARTLETT, M. D. - - - - 136

No. II.

ART. I. — Burial of the Dead, - - - - - 137

ART. II. — The Non-Resistant, - - - - 164

ART. III. — On the Uses of the Communion, and the Propriety of a General Attendance upon it, - - - - 194

ART. IV. — A Broad Foundation the only Sure One. A Sermon preached in Mill Hill Chapel, Leeds. By CHARLES WICKSTEED, 209

ART. V. — Biblical Researches in Palestine, Mount Sinai, and Arabia Petræa, a Journal of Travels in the year 1838. By E. ROBINSON and E. SMITH. Undertaken in reference to Biblical Geography. Drawn up from the Original Diaries, with Historical Illustrations. By EDWARD ROBINSON, D. D., - 222

ART. VI. — A Sermon preached in the Chapel of Harvard College, October 17, 1841. By HENRY WARE, JR., Parkman Professor, &c. - - - - - - - - 252
CRITICAL NOTICES. — The Prelatical Doctrine of Apostolical Succession Examined, &c. By THOMAS SMYTH, - 261
The Letters of John Adams addressed to his Wife. Edited by his Grandson, CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS. - 263
Biography and Poetical Remains of the late Margaret Miller Davidson. By WASHINGTON IRVING, - - 269
Confessions of an English Opium Eater. Being an Extract from the Life of a Scholar - - - - - 274
An Argument on the Unconstitutionality of Slavery, - 274
Parisian Linguist; or an Easy Method of acquiring a perfect Pronunciation of the French Language, - - 275
Facts in Mesmerism, or Animal Magnetism. By the Rev. CHAUNCY HARE TOWNSHEND, - - - 276
Agriculture of the United States. An Address. By HENRY COLMAN, - - - - - - - 277
Fragments from German Prose Writers, - - 279
The Claims of Jesus. By ROBERT TURNBULL, - 280
The Mnemosynum. By JOHN F. AMES, - - 280

No. III.

ART. I. — Burial of the Dead, - - - - - 281
ART. II. — Lectures on Spiritual Christianity. By ISAAC TAYLOR, 308
ART. III. — A Winter in the Azores, and a Summer at the Baths of the Furnas. By JOSEPH BULLAR, M. D., and HENRY BULLAR, of Lincoln's Inn, - - - - - 319
ART. IV. — Specimens of Foreign Literature. Vol. X. Theodore: or, The Skeptic's Conversion. Translated by JAMES F. CLARKE, 348
ART. V. — Monaldi: A Tale. By W. ALLSTON, - - 374
ART. VI. — Two Discourses on the Nature and Province of Natural, Revealed, and Experimental Religion. By ORVILLE DEWEY, Pastor of the Church of the Messiah, in New York, - 382
CRITICAL NOTICES. — 1. A Sermon delivered at the Funeral of the Rev. Ezra Ripley, D. D. By BARZILLAI FROST. 2. The Death of the Aged: A Discourse preached to the First Church and Society in Concord, Mass., on the Morning of the Sabbath after the Funeral of their late Senior Pastor, Rev. Ezra Ripley, D. D. By CONVERS FRANCIS, D. D., - - 403
The Christian Psalter: A Collection of Psalms and Hymns for Social and Private Worship, - - - - 404
Theory of Teaching, with a few Practical Illustrations. By A TEACHER, - - - - - - 406
Anthon's Classical Dictionary, - - - - 409
Poems: Narrative and Lyrical. By WILLIAM MOTHERWELL, 410
American Criminal Trials. By PELEG W. CHANDLER, 410
NEW AND RECENT PUBLICATIONS, - - - - 411
INDEX, - - - - - - - - - 418

THE

CHRISTIAN EXAMINER.

SEPTEMBER, 1841.

ART. I. — BANKING AND THE BANK OF THE UNITED STATES.

SIX LETTERS FROM NICHOLAS BIDDLE, ESQ. TO HON. JOHN M. CLAYTON — Philadelphia, April, 1841.

WHEN Mephistopheles, — in the great poem in which he is the ruling spirit, — was called upon in the court of the Emperor of the world, to discover a method by which the drooping finances of the realm could be refreshed, he expressed his astonishment that money should in any way be wanting under an economy by which it could to so unlimited an extent be created. Mines, he stated, were spread in golden streaks underneath the earth on which the assembled council were standing; and it might not be either a stretch of prerogative, or a perversion of credit, to issue on the basis which was thus presented, paper money in amounts which should be bounded alone by the capacity of the paper manufactories. The scheme was in a moment adopted. Before a spade touch d the ground under which the treasure was secreted, notes were sent forth on the faith of wealth as indefinite as it was unknown. The people left their old pursuits, and collected themselves into one vast gambling shop, in which the new currency was made use of as the ground-work on which the games should be conducted. The manufactures became silent, the fruit fields withered away; and in a few months after the specific had been administered, the patient, stimulated at first by the excitement of the drug, fell back at last, as far as can be

learnt from the uncertain narration of the poet, into a torpor in which he became insensible alike to the suggestions of conscience, and the demands of self-preservation.

There has scarcely been a commercial nation which has not, at periods when its system was most exposed, been visited by the infection which was thus set afloat by the master of all evil. When by the accession of the Hanover family, the constitution of great Britain was placed on a basis which rescued it from the danger of arbitrary encroachment, and when by the establishment of the Bank of England an example of money-making on the largest scale was set, the credit and the prosperity of the realm were at one moment swelled beyond all reasonable dimensions, and at another shrunk proportionably by the speculations which followed the inflation of the South Sea bubble. In France also, in the minority of Louis XV, at a period when the monied operations of the state, released from the shackles under which in previous reigns they had been placed, were let loose on the wide field before them, the erection of a national banking institution was followed by a series of adventures so wild, that they embraced two thirds of the continent of America in their sphere, and so fatal, that they prostrated at the end the mass of the available means of the French nation. We have experienced, in the United States, from the period of our first existence as an independent nation, the various fluctuations in their full extent, which arise from the establishment of an exaggerated system of paper money. When at the most ominous points in the revolution, we stood in need of a common medium of circulation, which should serve as a measure both for foreign loans and domestic trade, we found our difficulties augmented by the vast amount of worthless paper afloat under the credit of the various states, which raised our standard, while it diminished our wealth. We have been subjected, since our independence was established, to periodical bankruptcies, which have checked our prosperity and shattered our credit. While we possess the qualifications which enable us as a country to raise without limit raw commodities the most useful to mankind, we have found, when we entered into the foreign market, that other nations, whose means were less extensive, and whose productions were much inferior, have been able to undersell us, because the rate of their currency was lower. When, however, we have been thus prevented from freely disposing of the fruit of those great resources

with which nature has endowed us, the redundancy of our currency has enabled us to give the most exorbitant prices for foreign commodities. Our own manufactures are not sold abroad, because, from the high pitch to which wages are raised among us, and the still higher pitch at which the articles necessary to the manufacturer are fixed, we are unable to export them, except at an expense which makes them easily undersold by the productions of other countries. Foreign goods, on the other hand, meet with a ready market with us, because they are produced with much less expense, and are sold at a much lower price. We have bought, therefore, far more than we have sold. Our specie has been drawn from us in a solid stream, while the paper substitute that has been provided for it, — like the floating bridge which has been fastened to the banks when the tide had carried it to the highest, and is then, when the water subsides, left suspended on its precarious support, — has been unable to bear up against the strain which was immediately thrown upon it. We have proved by our own experience a point which would otherwise have been doubted, that a people, whose resources are boundless, and whose strength gigantic, can become in a few years bankrupt from the bursting of a bubble which it had itself inflated.

That the embarrassment of our commerce and the discredit of our name can be traced to the vast enlargement of our nominal currency by the imprudent issues of our banks, may be readily demonstrated; but it seems equally demonstrable, that banking, when conducted under reasonable restraints and in good faith, is useful in the highest degree, both to the purposes of trade and the conveniences of every-day life. Of the three usual attributes of Banks, as they exist at present, there is not one that could be dispensed with by a mercantile community. To a merchant, in the first place, who is constantly in want of ready money for the payment of dues, and who is also constantly in the receipt of large sums which are amply sufficient for that purpose, great risk will be prevented, and great trouble saved, by his depositing his funds as they come to hand with a banker, from whom they can be drawn when wanted. He can pay off the demands which are presented against him, by a check which will be as good as the sum it represents; and the banker thinks himself fully compensated for his trouble and risk, by the use of the money in the mean time. When a large amount, in the second place, is to

be transferred from point to point, or when for other reasons it becomes inconvenient to carry it to and fro in the cumbrous shape of gold and silver, the operations of trade are greatly facilitated by the introduction in its place of a note which actually represents it, and which can be changed again into specie when required by the holder. When a trader, in the third place, has contracted with a foreign dealer for an article, which he will sell six months hence in the home market for an advance, but for which at present he has not funds at hand to pay, his own condition is materially assisted, as well as the general movements of business quickened, by the money that is advanced to him by his banker on the condition, that when the period is over to which the loan extends is expired, the amount shall be repaid with interest.

The three ordinary properties of banking, therefore, as they are classified by the illustrations which have just been given, are useful, in the strongest sense of the word, to the operations of a commercial country. But beneficial as they are, when exercised with wisdom, they become, when let loose from the restraints of good faith and prudence, as destructive as the component agents of the atmosphere when the bands with which they are confined are broken. The merchant finds it convenient to deposite his cash on hand in an institution where it would be far safer than in his own house; but should the banker prove faithless, the distress occasioned will be far greater than that which would have arisen, had the capitalist remained in possession of his money. The notes of a solvent bank are of great service to the traveller, as well as to the general dealer; but should the bank break, not only will the note-holders lose the worth of the nominal value of the paper, but a general distrust will be inspired in the community. Should the merchant whose note has been discounted refuse to pay, or be unable to pay the sum he has thus engaged to make good, he will endanger the general credit of the institution which has assisted him, and perhaps lead the way to its stoppage. When it is remembered that with us at present, the three operations of deposit, of circulation, and of discount, are united under one establishment,—that they have become linked together so intimately, that a shock received by one member is distributed throughout the whole system,—that by a loss received in either of the three departments the whole institution must suffer,—it will be seen how easy it is for the fraud or the

negligence of a single man, when he is admitted within the arcana of a large bank, to shake by his errors the safety of the whole community. It requires the utmost care and the utmost integrity, in those who have the management of machinery at once so sensitive and so dangerous, to preserve its members in their balance, and to maintain the usefulness of the whole.

It is the misfortune of American banking, that, while it has never been restrained by those general limitations which the municipal authority alone can impose, it has been freed, by the interposition of the same authority, from the natural responsibilities which rest on the ordinary movements of trade. It is unshackled by municipal regulations, because from the spirit of speculation which has become so potent in the land, the state governments have emulated each other in the production of schemes of banking the most loose and the least guarded; and because, though the state governments themselves, from their conflicting views, are unable to carry out a system which should be uniform and just, the general government is constitutionally disabled from interference with a subject on which it alone can move with safety. We have partaken, in consequence, of a currency as mottled as the face of the vast continent over which it spreads. The manufactories of the East, the mines and the corn-fields of the Middle and Western States, the rice swamps and the cotton plantations of the South, have been made the basis from which paper money has risen in clouds. Here in New England, it is true, there have been restraints imposed, which, if rigidly carried out, would be salutary, but even here, the shackles, which have been thus knitted together, have too often been flung aside by the prisoner, whenever his strength has been great enough, or his ambition sufficiently daring, to attempt the violation of laws which he had solemnly contracted to observe. In the South, in the West, and in some portions of the Middle States, legislative provisions have been a mockery. Of the laws for the prohibition of suspension of specie payments, there is not an instance of enforcement; and even when for a second time, after having experienced once before, under promises to do better, the mercy of the State authorities, the banks have violated the laws by a permanent suspension, they have been allowed to continue their chartered existence, in like defiance of the claims of justice, and the necessities of trade. It is worthy of remark, that though the payment of their notes in specie is the only

condition of importance, that has been exacted from the banks in return for the great privileges conferred upon them, it has been openly disregarded whenever such a step became temporarily convenient.

Had the legislatures of the various states stood still, after a refusal to lay the restraints which it was in their power to lay, they would be liable to complaint for negligence, though not perhaps for positive error. But the same authority, which let loose the banks on the community, without those bridles which legislative restriction could afford, emancipated them by the act of charter from the responsibility which rests on all other proceedings of trade. Should a company of merchants go into business without the immunities of a charter, they would be liable to the full extent of their individual estate, for the debts which they collectively incurred. They would be prudent, therefore, in their movements, because their imprudence would be injurious not only to the community, but to themselves. Suppose that they joined themselves together for banking purposes, they would become responsible both in a body and singly, for whatever notes they issued, for whatever deposites they received, for whatever accommodations they gave. Let a man of loose business principles march into the directors' chamber, or take his seat in the president's chair,—he would be restrained from the deviations into which his own waywardness would lead him, by that magical gravitation which a sense of individual interest creates. Banking houses would be subject to the same regulations as those which hold good in establishments for pursuing other branches of trade, and there would be no temptation to those who were intrusted with their management to squander their funds, since they would perceive that for the deficiency thus created, their private fortunes must answer.

Such would be the natural liabilities of a company, which should enter upon banking operations without the previous grant of a charter. Like an English joint stock company, it would place its credit on the basis of the credit of its members both individually and collectively. The holder of a note, or the maker of a deposit, would look to the character and the fortune of the bankers; and if they were men of standing and property, if they had grown grey in the honest pursuit of their calling, and were anchored down in their moorings by those ties of family and of domestic relations, which go more than

any others to ensure a man's stability, he would be conscious that the risk, to which he would be subjected, would be but little more than that which is necessarily incidental to mercantile affairs. But let the banking company receive a charter, and the basis of its operations is changed. Its directors, from responsible partowners, become the irresponsible managers of an adventure, in which they have but a transient and transferable interest. The whole machinery is shrouded at once in mystery. The enquirer is unable to determine how much of the capital is paid in, or in what medium it is paid; and as his property is to be hazarded, not on the ability of the directors individually to fulfil the obligations they enter into, but on the sufficiency of the capital for the debts it must encounter, he is forced to place his confidence on a rock that may in a moment disappear. Who is to guard against negligence or fraud, among men who have every temptation to be negligent and fraudulent? Who can say that the man who is placed by his own intrigues, or by the indifference of others, in the chair of irresponsible authority, may not abuse his trust? There are many ways in which money may vanish besides in direct embezzlement, and it may be, as it has been, that the trustees of so great wealth, emancipated as they are from all individual liability, may make such use of it for the benefit of themselves or of their friends, as they would be far from doing were they involved personally in its safety. There is scarcely a bank in the United States which is not swayed in its discounts by personal preference, that has not given to the less worthy applicant a priority on grounds of friendship or party spirit; and yet there is scarcely a creditable firm within the same limits, whose members are responsible for its debts, which would be actuated by such inducements. We might put out of the question the constant probability of fraud. That the only way to ensure men's honesty,—and we say it with pain,—is to make it politic for them to be honest,—the experience of banking as well as the experience of human nature has shown. There could be no arrangement so well calculated for the misuse and the abuse of the wealth of the community in general, as that which places it in the hands of irresponsible trustees, who can squander it or embezzle it, should it suit their purposes, without the probability of detection, or the fear of punishment. The want of direct responsibility may be said to be the cardinal error in the foundation of the banking system. When the first

stone was laid, and when the high priests of the faith proclaimed in full pontificals the virtue of the creed which in its walls was to be promulgated, there were prophets who stood by, who looked upon the ceremony with averted eyes, as they saw the evil that it would bring forth. The great dishonor that would fall on our name, and the jar that would be given to our institutions, were foretold, when the cloud from which they were to drop was but a speck in the horizon. It was objected, that through the operation of banking corporations, the old fundamental laws of descent, of mortmain, of escheat, which had been the beams on which more than one vast and free nation had been built, would be virtually set aside. It was shown that the integrity of the state would be eaten away, by the transfer of a large portion of its capital to foreigners. It was maintained that, from the freedom of the directors of the new corporations from all responsibility, there would be an undue and dangerous consolidation of power in the hands, nominally of the boards themselves, but actually, of their presidents; that the charters of the respective institutions would be violated as often as it became convenient, till their immunities became indefinite and their restrictions a dead letter; that there would be large and injurious losses through fraud and carelessness in their officers and agents; that there would be a determined interference with the political divisions of the country, whenever such interference seemed expedient; and that finally, from the expansions and contractions of the banks themselves, there would be violent and incessant fluctuations of the monetary system. It was on such grounds that the charter of the Bank of the United States in Congress, to a great degree, and those of the State banks in their respective legislatures entirely, were opposed. That they were opposed in vain, will be seen by a glance at the condition of the currency of the country at various times from 1811, to the present period. The following table is made up from the reports of the Secretary of the Treasury, as taken from the returns of the banks themselves.

Condition of all the Banks in the United States at various Eras.

Date.	Number of banks from which returns are received.	Number of banks the affairs of which are estimated.	Total number of banks.	Loans and Discounts.	Specie.	Circulation.	Deposites.	Capital.
				Dollars.	Dollars.	Dollars.	Dollars.	Dollars.
January 1, 1811	51	38	89		15,400,000	28,100,000		62,601,601
" 1815	120	88	208		17,000,000	45,500,000		82,259,590
" 1816	134	112	246		19,000,000	68,000,000		89,822,422
" 1820	213	95	308		19,820,240	44,863,344	35,950,470	137,110,611
" 1830	282	48	330	200,451,214	22,114,917	61,323,898	55,559,928	145,192,268
" 1834	406	100	506	324,119,499		94,839,370	75,666,986	200,005,944
" 1835	515	43	558	365,163,834	43,937,625	103,692,495	83,081,365	231,250,337
" 1836	559	8	567	457,506,080	40,019,594	140,301,038	115,104,440	251,875,292
" 1837	632	2	634	525,115,702	37,915,346	149,185,890	127,397,185	290,772,091
" 1838	663	—	663	485,631,687	35,184,112	116,138,910	84,691,184	317,636,778*
" 1839	662	—	840	492,278,015	45,132,673	135,170,995	90,240,146	327,132,512*
" 1840	661	61	901	462,896,523	33,105,155	106,968,572	75,696,857	358,442,692
" 1841	514	—	—	425,146,069	35,034,069	124,465,198	72,829,480	————†

* In these two years the number of branches is included.

† The estimate for 1841 is made up from the Report of Secretary Ewing, and it would seem is on somewhat a different basis from those of his predecessor.

The charter of the United States Bank in 1816 was looked upon as the final triumph of the system, as it at the time was organized. The charter itself was built upon the most improved principles in vogue. It was meant to be the most complete personification of the economy under which it came into existence. The corporate existence of the Bank of the United States has now expired; its affairs are in the process of being spread before the public with a fidelity which in the usual reports is uncommon; and we have the privilege of determining from the result of the experiment itself, on the worth and truth of the principles on which it was built. We shall make use of this opportunity in drawing from its history, as far as we may be able, the moral that it contains; and taking up the charges which we have already noticed as made against the scheme at its first promulgation, we shall endeavor to show, in the first place, that there was undue and dangerous power in the hands of the president of the bank; secondly, that there were distinct violations of its charter; thirdly, that there were considerable losses through the fraud and carelessness of its officers and agents; fourthly, that there was frequent interference, on its part, in the political affairs of the country; and fifthly, that there were constant fluctuations, through its agency, in the monetary system.

I. *Excessive Power in the President of the Bank.*

In an institution so vast as the Bank of the United States, from which accommodations to an average of at least sixty-five millions were continually afloat, — which formed for twenty years the centre around which the monetary system ebbed and flowed, — a general harmony between the various members was necessary to the interest, as well as the integrity of the whole. The wheels of discount, of circulation, of deposit, must move on a single axis, or move irregularly. The evils of disunion under such auspices are more injurious than the evils of abuse. During the administration of Mr. Jones, the harness of the institution was out of gear, and the branch banks worked on in disregard of the leader who was placed before them, and of the reins that were thrown over their necks. The Baltimore Branch and the New York Branch pulled different ways, because they pulled as their private interest prompted them; and if the Baltimore Branch succeeded

in dragging its neighbor into the ditch, it was because it was the most skilful in violating the feeble restraints which were thrown around it by the central power. Mr. Jones entered the Bank with a character for integrity, which had been gained by the composure with which he had executed political trusts, in which the temptation to err was slight, and the privileges of erring restricted; and after an administration of two years, in which the grossest mismanagement had taken place, not so much from his misfeasance as his incapacity, he established by his compulsory resignation the principle, that worldly integrity alone, and political respectability, are not sufficient for the support of an office whose temptations are so immense, and whose duties so trying. Had Mr. Cheves been permitted to carry out the views of retrenchment and economy, which he displayed on his entrance into the presidency on the vacancy thus created, — had he been permitted to carry into effect those narrow but cardinal rules, which were necessary to bring back into its orbit a body which had so widely diverged, and to retain it in its orbit when it was brought back again, — he might have continued at the head of the bank till its charter expired, and have kept it in a state in which it would have been both useful to the public by the moderate and regular facilities it afforded, and useful to the stockholders in the punctual repayment of their investments, if not in the diseased exaggeration of their dividends. But Mr. Cheves was bred in a school which was distasteful to the board of financiers who had been nursed in the rich corruption of the preceding administration. The crop he raised was the natural product of a soil impoverished by past excesses, the dividends were rapidly reduced, because they had previously been improperly puffed out, and the discounts, as well as the circulation of the bank, were brought within bounds which were suitable to the extent of its capital. The speculatists, who had gleaned from the harvest Mr. Jones had sown the monstrous fruits and the gaudy flowers which his system of stimulants had forced out, were unable to content themselves with the homely crops which were raised under a more prudent management; and in 1823, disgusted with the opposition he had felt, and the ingratitude he had experienced, Mr. Cheves left his seat as President and Director. The measures which had been concerted became ripe the moment that action had arrived. Mr. Biddle mounted into the vacant chair with a reputation, that had arisen

rather from his personal bearing than his actual achievements, and received from his predecessor the books of the institution, untrammelled by the confused accounts and the gross errors with which, under the first two years of its history, it had been encumbered. There is a species of self-complaisance, which, though it is rarely the accompaniment of profound judgment, is often regarded as its index and its evidence. The dial-plate of the understanding is more significant to the eyes of a great many, if it has lost the hands which can point out the operations of the machinery below. To deny the peculiar capabilities of a man who preserved for sixteen years a command so perfect over a body of men, so respectable as the directors of the Bank of the United States, would be futile. Mr. Biddle during his presidency exhibited every qualification that could fit him for his office, except the prudence and integrity which had been the characteristics of his immediate predecessor. He puffed out the drooping dimensions of the stock till it reached its original rotundity. It had been as high as 150, when under the nursing care of Mr. Jones; it had fallen to 90, when brought back again by Mr. Cheves to its proper soil; but as soon as the new president had taken his seat, it started up again to a height which rivalled its former greatness. Mr. Biddle was hailed before long from all quarters, as the resuscitator of the country's commerce. There were but few who withheld their tribute from the monarch of the generation. The wise men of the East, — the bankers of New England, who had stood unchanged in their stern independence during the wild administration of Mr. Jones, — were unable to resist the genial influence of the star that beckoned them to throw their treasures at the feet of the new financier. The South flung forth her staples through her swarthy rivers, and opened her rice swamps, her cotton brakes, and her tobacco fields to the speculator who could afford them so good a market. Temporary success on the one side, was followed by unqualified subservience on the other; and through the homage that was thus given in, the conqueror himself became intoxicated, and fell into a dizziness which obscured to him both the maxims of honor and the laws of honesty. From the prudent restrictions of Mr. Cheves, the bank was forced into a system of high pressure management, which carried it along with a rapidity for which its strength was but little calculated. The disease was aggravated by the irregular treatment with which it had been

met. Alternately in the hands of quacks and of legitimate practitioners, reduced by the loose prescriptions of Mr. Jones to disorders from which it recovered only by the rigid remedies of Mr. Cheves, — passing again, as soon as its health was in a measure restored, to the experimental treatment of Mr. Biddle, it has sustained a series of disasters which have been the more extended from the nursing, which in the interval between them its vitality had undergone. On the day of the election of Colonel Drayton, the bank stock stood at its lowest pitch, the bank credit was exhausted, its name was ruined abroad and dishonored at home, and nearly two thirds of its capital was destroyed. If a statesman, whose past life had been unstained, not only in its political but in its individual relations, and whose ability was as acknowledged as his integrity was undoubted, — whose name had remained pure in the fierce arena of politics, or rather, who had passed through the fiercest contest which since the formation of the government that arena had witnessed, with his chariot wheels unspotted, — who had placed himself so far above sectional and temporary interests, as to scorn the highest offers they could bring when in comparison with the good of his country, — if such a man had been called to the reins of the bank when it was at the height of its speed, its movement might have been checked and its ruin prevented. But Colonel Drayton became president when the bank was lying in the amphitheatre crushed and broken. His duty was to collect its fragments, and not to direct its course. With his presidency the history of the bank as a general institution may be said to close; and if it survives the shock which the exhibition of its true condition has given it, it will survive under a reduced capital and another name.

"I look," said Montaigne, "upon the too good opinion that a man has of himself, to be the nursing mother of the falsest opinions both public and private." That Mr. Biddle, to return to the point to which this division of the subject is directed, owed a large portion of his errors to the evils of a system, that placed him without control at the head of a vast monied establishment, may be readily admitted. He considered himself, as was remarked by the Investigating Committee in their last report, as the bank personified. When the charter of the institution was before the Legislature of Pennsylvania, the provision, common to all the other banks, authorizing the Legislature to repeal or to amend, was at first inserted. "I then declared,"

says Mr. Biddle in his second letter, "that I would not receive it on such terms, and unless that provision was stricken out, the bill need go no farther. Accordingly it was stricken out." It is not only in obtaining the charter alone, that the master hand confesses its potency, but it has been equally free to acknowledge its influence on the internal concerns of the institution. "Had I occupied the position which I once did," he says in another letter, in relation to the resumption in January 1841, "I would not have permitted that resumption." "The first I took in hand myself," he remarks in another instance, when speaking of the aid given in 1837 to two large houses, "making the necessary advances to carry them through their troubles, and they were accordingly saved. With the house of Thomas Biddle and Co. I would not interfere, but I requested a committee to examine their affairs, and if they thought it expedient, I would consent to it." When in examination before a committee of the United States House of Representatives in 1832, Mr. R. M. Whitney stated that he had discovered a gross irregularity in the transactions of the bank in its loan department, and that he had reported the same to Mr. Biddle, Mr. Biddle replied, not by a confutation of the main items of the fact, but by remarking that the conduct imputed to him "was inconsistent with my character," and that "he would have sooner sunk into the earth than have dared to come to me with such a remonstrance." *

Had the assumptions of the late president of the Bank of the United States been as empty as those of the African Satrap who claimed dominion over the planet Mars, they would have been unworthy of notice. But presumptuous as they are, they are based on what actually was the case.† The fol-

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* Whitney's Memorial, p. 20. Washington, 1832.

† The first steps in the loans to the Philadelphia and Baltimore Rail Road Company, and in the Cotton investments, — two of the most unlucky speculations into which the Bank was led, — are thus developed:

The Philadelphia and Baltimore Rail Road.

"In my zeal to promote the objects of improvement, I determined some years ago with one or two public-spirited gentlemen, that there should be made a Rail Road between Philadelphia and Baltimore. A large portion of the funds were borrowed from the Bank; and with a view to ensure its completion, I became personally the guarantee to

lowing statement of the proxies held by him, or as a trustee in conjunction with others, is taken from the documents reported to the House of Representatives on April 30th, 1832, by the committee already alluded to.* It will be seen that they would afford a preponderating influence in the election of directors.

List of Proxies on file in the Bank.

Residence of Stockholders.	*By whom represented.*	*No. of votes.*
Massachusetts,	Thomas Cadwalader,	538
"	Nicholas Biddle,	504
Connecticut,	Enoch Parsons,	194
New York,	Nicholas Biddle,	611
Pennsylvania,	H. Binney, Jos. Hemphill, R. Ralston, and N. Biddle,	922
Maryland,	Wm. Patterson, R. Oliver, A. Brown, J. Wilson, R. Gilmore, S. Hoffman, and T. Ellicott,	588
South Carolina	Stephen Girard, G. Calhoun, T. P. Cope, S. E. Weir, and N. Biddle,	762
Virginia and N. Carolina,	Nicholas Biddle,	144
Miscellaneous,	Thomas P. Cope,	93
"	Nicholas Biddle.	177
		4533

There was a whip, therefore, in the hands of Mr. Biddle, by which he could drive into the track the most refractory of the directors. That the power of coercion was often exercised, it is not maintained. The high character which the President had attained, his admirable complaisance, his fine knowledge of the lesser elements of human nature, gave him a command over those who sat with him in the direction of the bank, which

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the Bank for the safety of about $ 400,000 of the loan."— *Mr. Biddle's fourth letter to Mr. Clayton, April* 15, 1841.

The Cotton Adventure.

"It occurred to me, therefore, that the only mode of avoiding these dangers was to purchase no bills at all, except founded on direct shipments of produce under the control of the Bank. I accordingly urged the mercantile part of the Directors to engage in that operation, — but finding none of them disposed to large operations, I determined that, as it must be done, I would do it myself."— *Mr. Biddle's first letter to Clayton, April* 1, 1841.

* Clayton's Report, p. 284.

those who were least conscious of it felt most strongly. He reigned, too, in a period of great party excitement; or rather, at the era when his most daring measures were forced through, the bank was engaged in a struggle for existence so violent, that through the attraction of cohesion alone its component members rallied around their common eentre. But if the gentlemen, who sat year after year around the great table in the directors' chamber, — and that, as a mass, they were men of integrity is unquestionable, — were brought forward to testify to the system on which the affairs of the institution were conducted, they would offer the same evidence as that brought forward by Mr. Lippincott in his final statement. In every account, in every statement was to be recognised the movements of the same omnipresent hand. Mr. Wilson, the tried cashier under Mr. Cheves, was found wanting and removed by the new administration. Officers were appointed by the suggestion of the president, and not by the conclusion of the board. Look for a moment at the immense maze of accounts that recorded the transactions of the bank, see how multifarious they are in their division, how vast in their extent, and yet observe with what admirable accuracy they were daily balanced, how losses in one branch were made up by entries in another, and deficits were glossed over with so great neatness, that till the whole field was years afterwards ploughed up, the spots where they were buried remained hidden. Committees marched up as sentries whose confidence in the strength of the citadel was so great that they thought it useful to inspect its outworks, and committees marched back again with their corporal at their head to report that all was secure.

It may be worth while, as showing how predominant was the ascendency obtained by the president, to exhibit how completely he dispensed with the action of the checks, which were placed around him as the conservative agents of the bank. Although the charter required in express terms, that the business of the institution should never be transacted by less than seven directors, it is shown that the most important subjects were placed exclusively in the hands of committees of less than seven, appointed by the president, and of which he is *ex officio* or member.* On the 6th of March, 1835, the

* Report of the House Committee of Ways and Means. March 4th, 1834. (Niles's Register, vol. 46, p. 43.)

committee of exchange, consisting of three members appointed by the president, was authorized by a vote of the directors "to make loans on the security of the stock of this Bank, or other approved security, and if necessary, at a lower rate than six, but not less than five per cent. per annum." The mode in which the Committee of Exchange transacted their business, it is stated by the Stockholders' Investigating Committee in their first report, shows that there really existed no check whatever upon the officers, and that the funds of the Bank were almost entirely at their disposal. The very large business thus done, —amounting on an average to $7,000,000 annually,—"does not appear on the face of the discount books, was never submitted to the examination of the members of the board at its regular meetings, nor is it anywhere entered on the minutes, as having been reported to that body for their information or approbation. In the purchase and sale of stocks, also, it is reported by the same committee that the directors were frequently dismissed from consultation. The Merchants' Bank of New Orleans, of the capital of one million for an advance of $76,250, the Insurance Bank of Columbus, Georgia, to the amount of $384,000, and the Hamilton Bank of Baltimore, in part, were purchased without the knowledge or consent of the board. In fine, the board itself was superceded on all important questions, on the plea that it had delegated its authority to committees, and the committees were passed over by the president as clogs on his movements, and were used, whenever they were used at all, as instruments who should express his will, rather than as counsellors who should guide it." "For the information of those not conversant with the portion of the business of the bank referred to by Mr. Biddle," said Mr. Lippincott, the chairman for a long period, of the Dividend Committee, in his statement to the stockholders of May 4th, 1841, "I will state that these reports were always previously prepared by the officers of the bank, (and as now appears,) *very artfully, and with great circumspection*, and being neatly copied by a clerk, in the bank, were handed to the Dividend Committee for their examination and comparison, with numerous documents accompanying them. These reports were also usually compared with the general ledger, and if found to correspond therewith, also (which was always the case) were signed by the Chairman of the Committee and presented to the board." It will not be necessary to go farther,

to establish the point that in the management of the institution, from its largest transactions to its minutest details, the power of the president was exerted to an extent incompatible with the provisions of the charter, and inconsistent with the interests of the stockholders.

II. *Violations of Charter.*

That legislative limitations should stand in the way when all other restraints were so thoroughly set aside, could never have been expected. In the remarks which have already been brought forward, cases have been incidentally noticed in which the charter was evaded or violated, and were it worth while, it might be shown that there is scarcely a provision in the instrument, from which the corporate existence of the institution took date, that has not been in the first place, adroitly passed by, and in the second, flagrantly overthrown. Like boys in their first games, the offending officers occupied themselves simply in dodging round the gate which was raised before them, but as they grew more bold and more active, they made but little hesitation in clearing it with a leap. In Mr. Jones's presidency, for instance, great obstacles were in the way of the large stockholders, by the first article of the charter, which required that no person, copartnership, or body politic, should be entitled to more than thirty votes. "It became," says a committee appointed by the House of Representatives in the close of 1818, of which Mr. Spencer was at the head, "a common and general practice well known to the judges of the election and to the directors, to divide shares into small parcels, varying from one to twenty shares to a name, held in the names of persons who had no interest in them, and to vote upon the shares thus held, as attorneys for the intended proprietors." * The large proprietors, like Centipedes whose form is too awkward and whose bulk too great to admit of their moving in single masses, were cut up into joints, and carried into the election rooms to bear, in their fragmentary form, the influence which, when entire, they were incapable of exerting. It will presently be shown that by such means men who possessed the most trifling interest in the institution, and who were

* Spencer's Report, Niles's Register, new series, vol. 3, p. 411.

by charter barred from its offices, climbed gradually into the position of the largest stockholders, and often, into the directors' seats.

The second and third instalments on the stock were required by the charter to be made in coin and funded debt. It was fully proved before the committee just mentioned, and so reported to the House, that the directors of the bank agreed to waive the provision, and in consequence, the quantity of specie paid in being proportionally small, the bank was forced into continual embarrassment and loss. Personal security was taken, not only for the portion of the stock that was so limited, but in many cases, for the whole of the remainder, till at length a practice grew up of discounting to subscribers for stock to the whole amount of the stock they had subscribed for, rating it at $125 a share. A speculator, for instance, who had taken a hundred shares, might go into the discount office, and receive the whole amount of the value of his stock by pledging it at the counter. He was possessed, therefore, by a single stroke, of money enough to pay for the stock he had contracted for, and he became, in consequence, enabled to vote at elections, and to serve in the most responsible stations. "The directors themselves avowed that they uniformly gave the preference to stock notes over business paper, — their reasons are contained in their examinations. — Not an instance has occurred of a note secured by a pledge of stock being rejected." * A greedy market was thus secured for the stock itself, and it is not to be wondered that it should have risen with steps the most rapid and the most untiring. Curtailments of discount on mercantile paper daily took place, in order to afford increased facilities to the stock broker, and in two years, on Mr. Cheves's accession, the mercantile community had been reduced to the severest distress, and the bank itself to the verge of bankruptcy.

But violation of chartered restrictions was not peculiar to the earlier history of the bank. The cotton adventure, and the immense dealing in fancy stocks, which make the two prominent features of its late disasters, rival with success the earlier extravagances. The illegality of the operations in cotton is spoken of under another head. They conflicted with the express provisions of the acts both of Congress and the Pennsylvania Legislature. That the dealing in State securities or

* Mr. Spencer's Report, Niles's Register, new series, vol. 3, p. 408.

in general stocks falls under the same limitation, is evident from the general terms in which the clause is placed. "The said corporation shall not, directly or indirectly, deal or trade in anything, except bills of exchange, gold or silver bullion, or in the sale of goods really and truly pledged for money lent and not redeemed in due time, or goods which shall be the proceeds of its lands. It shall not be at liberty to purchase any public debt whatever." * It would be difficult to believe that a large portion of the items included in the following statement would not fall within the restrictions of the proviso.

Stock account in April, 1829,	$ 17,687,705 42
Stock remittances to Europe,	2,170,549 88
Special loan to Commonwealth,	671,000 00
Bonds of Planters Bank,	656,000 00
Mississippi 5 per cents,	2,000,000 00
Michigan 6 per cents,	1,154,687 30
Illinois 6 per cents,	500,000 00
	$ 26,830,942 80†

III. *Losses from Fraud and Carelessness.*

In a system so extended in its prerogatives and yet so limited in its responsibility as the Bank of the United States, it is natural that through the culpability of some of its agents, or the negligence of others, its funds should be in some measure wasted. The officers, who were disconnected with the ultimate prosperity of the stockholders, and the directors, who were irresponsible for their action, might fall, if their honesty was built upon weak foundations, when the first temptation to carelessness or fraud assailed them. The losses thus incurred in Baltimore alone, in the two first years of the management of the Bank, exceeded $ 3,500,000. In the operations of the stock market also, — by means of that subtle lever by which the value of the stock can be raised by those who are experienced in managing it, — the directors as well as the officers of the institution, in its earlier periods, are shown to have abused the confidence which was reposed in them. "The mere purchasing shares with an intention to retain them," as stated by

* Story's Laws U. S. 1554.

† Second Report of Stockholders' Investigating Committee, May 18, 1841.

the Investigating Committee of 1818, "would not be improper, even in a director, if made without any view to intended future proceedings of the board of which he is a member; but the practice of purchasing at one time, when the stock is low, and selling at another, after its price had been enhanced by the measures adopted by the directors, is certainly unfair and censurable. It is the perversion of a high and honorable trust to the purposes of self-aggrandizement, and places the directors in a situation where their own interests afford a strong temptation to the abuse of that trust. Still more reprehensible is the conduct of those directors who made contracts for the purchase of stock, deliverable and payable at a future period, at a low rate, and during the intermediate time, by their own official acts, raised the price of the stock to its highest point."

If the committee who investigated the state of the Bank, when wandering under the reckless government of Mr. Jones, had been able to cast their eyes along the future history of the institution under whose roof they were sitting, they would have seen cause to press more peremptorily the restrictions they brought forward declaring the mismanagement and incapacity of the bank. The moderate fluctuations that had then occurred, like the ebbing and flowing of the tide, were but trifling in their influence, when compared with the influx and reflux of the stream when swollen by the breaking up of the fountains. The gentle pilferings of the Baltimore branch have been cast entirely in the shade, when compared with the huge embezzlements of the parent office. When, for instance, in the first administration, was the principle, that loans should not be taken by officers, so glaringly violated as it has been within the last ten years? In March 1836, when the bank went into operation under its new charter, its principal cashier was indebted to it to the amount of $100,500. When he resigned the office of cashier and was appointed foreign agent, he was in debt $408,389, 25 cents, and on the first of March, 1841, after having had opportunities unequalled, by means of his great salary and his greater commissions to reduce his debt, it still remained as high as $117,500. The first assistant Cashier was indebted to the Bank in March, 1836, to the amount of $104,000, which was augmented within the next three years to $426,930, 67 cents. The second assistant Cashier's debts to the Bank in March, 1836, reached $115,000; when he became chief Cashier in September, 1837, they had mounted

to $326,382, 50 cents; and when he resigned, and, in reward for his past services, was elected a director in June, 1840, they were reduced to $72,960. Had the debts been paid in the ordinary way, there might have been some question how men, retired from commercial life, and rewarded for their retirement by a fixed and sufficient salary, should have managed to dispose of sums so great and unwieldy. But, like the petrified remains of creatures beyond the flood, which display to the geologist not only their mode of living, but the food which they were in the habit of receiving, by the fragments which are found encased within their organs of digestion, the financiers of the Mammoth bank gave ample evidence, after they were brought up to discharge their obligations, of the operations in which the money they had received were employed. There was scarcely a security from the bond of a sovereign state to the notes of a floating rail road, that was not disgorged when the moment came for the payment of the debts which had been so wantonly incurred. "It appears on the Books of the Bank," says the Investigating Committee, "that these three gentlemen were engaged in making investments in their joint account, in the stock of the Camden and Woodbury Rail Road Co., Philadelphia, Wilmington and Baltimore Rail Road Co., Dauphin and Lycoming Coal Lands, and Grand Gulf Rail Road and Banking Co.;" and, indeed, had such transactions been completely obliterated, the stockholders would have seen, when, in return for the money which had been taken out of their coffers, depreciated stock was palmed upon them at its prime cost, but too clearly how hazardous had been the game that was played by their chosen officers, and how destructive to the interests of the Bank had been its results.

It is a painful matter to touch upon an item so remarkable for its extent, and yet so injurious in its relations to private character, as that which is alluded to at the close of the first report of the Stockholders' Committee of Investigation. There is an unwillingness afloat, and an unwillingness founded in the best principles of our nature, to believe that the late president of the Bank of the United States had been so regardless of the property of the stockholders and of his own character, as the statement would imply. In the profit and loss account of the contingent fund, "there is a charge under date of June 30, 1840, of $400,000 to "Parent Bank notes account,"

which has not been explained to the satisfaction of the committee. It must also be mentioned that among the expenditures of the Bank there are entered at various dates, commencing May 5th, 1836, sums amounting in all to $618,640 15 cts. as paid on the vouchers of 'Mr N. Biddle,' of 'Mr. N. Biddle and I. Cowperthwaite,' and 'Cashiers' vouchers.' As the committee were unable to obtain satisfactory information upon the subject of these expenses from the books or officers of the Bank, application was made by letter to Mr. N. Biddle and Mr. I. Cowperthwaite, from whom no reply was received."

Of the item of $400,000, thus mentioned by the Investigating Committee as standing unaccounted for in the books, no notice was taken by Mr. Biddle in the letters which were published by him shortly afterwards in his justification. Subsequent discoveries, of which we here can take no account, were made in relation to it by the committee. In what way, it may be first enquired, did Mr. Biddle clear himself from the charge which has just been recited from the report, that $618,640 15 cents were paid on his vouchers, together with those of his subordinates, without the object for which they were disbursed being known either to stockholders or directors? In his letter of April 25, 1841, as contained in the National Gazette of the 29th of the same month, the two following positions are raised, and are raised alone, in answer to the accusation thus made;

"First, That at the moment of charging me with these $618,000, the Committee knew perfectly well, that nearly $300,000 of that sum, had been expended since I left the Bank, — and

"Second, That the remainder had been regularly passed by the Board of Directors on the report of a Committee of which the Chairman, Joshua Lippincott, was the identical Joshua Lippincott, Chairman of this Committee of Investigation."

That the two points thus laid down by the late president of the Bank, constituting as they do the only defence offered to the solemn impeachment against his honesty, could be admitted without exculpating him from the heinousness of the crime laid to his charge, is readily to be seen. Suppose, in the first place, that $318,000, and not $618,000, were squandered by him in speculation or dispensed by him in corruption, is the color of the crime softened? If embezzlement is punished, as the records of our courts show, in the inverse ratio to its extent,

the clumsy machinery of the Police can snatch him with the less compunction, when his depredations lose their splendor with their size. That one half of the $618,000 were spent under his successors, does not exonerate him from the remaining half, which was spent under his own administration. It will be seen, however, by the following statement, that on subsequent inquiries, the sums expended without account, during Mr. Biddle's presidency, instead of less were much greater than the amount at which they were first estimated.

The amount thus disbursed before March 29, 1839, is	$359,241 10
To which is to be added an item which, though entered in the books at subsequent periods, was expended before the date just fixed,	$68,323 25
And also, the amount already mentioned as being charged on 'Parent Bank note account,' and which was unexplained, . .	$400,000 00
	$827,564 35
"So that," in the words of the Committee, "during Mr. Biddle's administration, from March, 1836, to April, 1839, a period of three years and one month, there were expended for purposes not yet explained, the sum of	$827,564 35
Leaving for the nineteen months succeeding,	191,085 80
	$1,018,650 15

It was answered, in the second place, by Mr. Biddle, "that the sum thus charged had been regularly passed by the Board of Directors on the report of a Committee of which the Chairman, Joshua Lippincott, was the identical Joshua Lippincott, Chairman of the Committee of Investigation." That Mr. Lippincott, as chairman of a committee in the bank five years ago, should approve of accounts submitted to him at the time by Mr. Biddle, the president of the Bank, falls very short of proving, that the expenditures thus described were either fairly made, or fairly reported. The fact now stands, that over 800,000 dollars were spent without the object to which they were directed being disclosed, and the inquiry arises, under whom was the expenditure made, and by whom was it author-

ized? Mr. Lippincott, the chairman of the committee who reported on the general correctness of the accounts which were presented at the close of Mr. Biddle's presidency, has answered, that in making that report he was deceived, that he knew nothing of the circumstances attending the items which made up the sum total, and that as long as he was in an official position, "these reports were always previously prepared by the officers of the bank (and as now appears) *very artfully and with great circumspection.*" * Mr. Biddle, the president of the bank during the time the transactions in question occured, admits his agency, and after endeavoring to diminish the odium which fell upon him by sharing it with Mr. Lippincott, states that he "finds it difficult to recall" the facts under which the disbursements were made.† $827,000 were therefore paid out of the vaults of the bank without account or without examination, through the inattention of a committee that suffered itself to be deceived, and through the malfeasance of an officer who has "been able to recall" enough to show that he was the deceiver. It remains clear, therefore, that the heading of the present section has been supported, and that there have been losses, and losses too, the most vast and the most disgraceful, from the negligence and the fraud of the officers and agents of the bank.

IV. *Political Interference.*

It would be derogatory to the intelligence and caution with which the Bank of the United States was for sixteen years managed, to suppose that the measures, which were taken by it to bring round a change of public sentiment, should have escaped beyond the privacy within which they were prepared. The springs which were moved were moved in secret; and except in the great effect which they produced, not so much upon the people in a body, as upon the delegated agents of the people who could more easily be dealt with, their force is to be estimated only by the sudden revolutions which took place wherever the sphere was not too extensive for their action, or the object too trifling for their interference. It was not till after General Jackson's

* Mr. Lippincott's Statement, May 4, 1841.
† Mr. Biddle's Letter, April 25, 1841.

accession to the presidency, that a necessity was felt for exertion. During Mr. Monroe's term of office politics had suffered a calm, the prominent land marks of party had become hidden, and the great objects of contention, which in the preceding fifty years had cleft the country in twain, were quietly conceded or quietly assumed. The navy was no longer an object of concern by one party alone, but was fostered by both. Internal improvements were stepping gradually along, till the objections with which they had been met were given up. The bank itself had been chartered, and was to carry out for fifteen years an existence which nothing but gross violations on its part could shorten. But when General Jackson expressed in his first message an opinion inconsistent with the future rechartering of the institution, a new sphere of action was opened. The bank came forward in the fields to fight through its chosen champions for a prize which involved its corporate existence. It employed, as the number of its assailants multiplied and their prowess increased, fresh engines for its defence. Presses changed their political complexion at periods, when the loans which they had just received cast a slur on their candor, if not their honesty, in the revolution which had been just effected. Gentlemen, who had been selected to office on account of their professed hostility to a national bank, and particularly to the bank as then managed, relaxed their principles in a way that provoked suspicion. It is a question to be solved by future examinations, which it is to be trusted will be carried on more fearlessly in a court of justice than they could be before the assembled stockholders, whether the immense sums, which were poured away without vouchers, were not spent in washing away the consistency of virtues which before had defied the aggression of tempest and the corruption of calm. Till that period arrives, till the period arrives when a detailed account shall be given in of those vast expenditures, whose suspicious destiny may be gathered from the studious mystery with which their disbursement was attended, — the evidences which are given of the political action of the bank can only be collected from scanty materials, which from accident or waywardness it let drop. The following instances may be taken as well authenticated by the reports both of its own officers and of the committees who were appointed by the House of Representatives to examine its proceedings.

An article on Banks and Currency was published in Novem-

ber, 1830, in the American Quarterly Review, which was viewed as exhibiting with great distinctness the claims which were advanced by the Bank of the United States to a recharter. It was submitted by the president — Mr. Biddle — to the directors as a paper worthy of their patronage, and at his suggestion the following resolution was passed; "Resolved, that the president be authorized to take such measures in regard to the circulation of the contents of an article on banks and currency, published in the American Quarterly Review, either in whole or in part, as he may deem most expedient for the interests of the bank." The power thus entrusted was exerted, as may be imagined, within no narrow limits.*

On the 11th of March, 1831, a resolution was adopted by the board, as recited in the report of the government directors, authorizing the president of the bank to cause to be prepared "and circulated such documents and papers as may communicate to the people information in regard to the nature and operations of the bank." * The checks, therefore, which had lain on the president's hands, were on a touch removed. He was endowed with an untrammelled control over the funds of the bank for purposes the most dangerous in which they could be employed. He became the daysman between the press and the money sacks, and while he drew forth from the latter handfuls of the gold which then was reposing in quiet in the vaults, he found writers who could be bought, and papers which could be bribed, to become the channels of his operations.

It was under such influences that the presidential election of 1832 took place. The bank entered into the struggle with its monstrous strength exerted to the full. The nature of its operations are gradually coming into view; and in the great deficits that are noticed in its means at that period, when taken in connexion with the remarkable charges which cotemporaneously took place, an estimate may be made of the extent as well as of the character of its movements. The Committee of Ways and Means in the House of Representatives in 1834, whose report has already been twice referred to, laid open, as far as their limited opportunities allowed them, the dealings of the bank at the period when, as a national institution, its energies were most called into play. For the last half of 1829,

* Report of Committee of Ways and Means, March 4th, 1834.

according to their statements, the expenditures, in compliance with the resolution which has been just set forth, were $3,765 94, giving an average for the year, of $7,531 88. In 1830 they increased to $14,081 47, about $7000 of which were for "printing and distributing the report of the Committee of Ways and Means, and Mr. Gallatin's pamphlets." In 1831 they increased to $43,204 79, and in 1832 they were $38,667 88, of which $26,543 72 were incurred in the last half year, including the presidential election. Of the whole amount, about $24,000, as stated by the government directors, no vouchers were given. The president alone was cognizant of the manner of the application of the sums thus disbursed, and as no memoranda were kept of his proceedings, they are as yet unknown, except to those who were the recipients or the dispensers of the corruption he employed.

It was mentioned under another head, that within the course of six years $1,018,640 15 were withdrawn without account from the coffers of the bank. The purpose for which they were used has not transpired. That they were employed either, in the first place, in swelling the private fortune of individuals, or secondly, in the furtherance of disastrous speculations, or thirdly, in political corruption, seems evident; and it is to be feared, that, however great may be the draughts which were carried off in the two first channels, the larger part of the immense sum thus embezzled was expended in objects which may be classed in the last division. There have been epochs in the history of the bank, when the rock of opposition was most rigid, and yet when by a touch of the wise man's wand it melted into floods. There has been a legislature, one branch of which at least had pledged itself by the most solemn ties to check to the utmost an institution so mighty and so ambitious; but which changed when it was brought to the trial, with a rapidity which made a mockery of mature and rational conviction. It may be said, also, that the public itself, by some large sum given to it for the prosecution of some favorite enterprise, may be corrupted as surely as the individuals who compose it; and it is clear, that if the people of Pennsylvania had had but one mouth, there could have been no plumb so tempting as that which was offered by the bank, on its application for a charter. $2,500,000 were paid as a bonus to the State, being at the rate of $8 to each of the qualified voters of the time; and it may be supposed, that if

the bank was able to disburse so immense an amount for the charter itself, it may have found itself equal, all scruples of conscience being out of the question, to disburse a sum much smaller for purposes more urgent. Till judicial process shall have sifted the subject from the mystery that clings around it, the full extent of the evil will not be known; but from legislative report, from internal investigation, and from personal admissions, there is enough known even at present, to show that the Bank of the United States, whenever its condition was such as to make it appear expedient, has interfered extensively with the political affairs of the country.

V. *Fluctuations of the Monetary System*

On the 7th of January 1817, the bank went into operation, and arrangements were immediately entered into with the other banks, for the speedy and simultaneous resumption of specie payments. The most unceasing efforts were made on the part of the new institution to force its paper into circulation, and to extend its loans within a circle which should only be bounded by the commercial capabilities of the country. The multiplication of its notes was checked only by the physical inability of the president and cashier to sign beyond a certain amount. Whatever contractions had been made by the surrounding banks were amply compensated by the immense expansions of the national institution. The currency became as depressed as it had been in the worst times which it had yet experienced. Prices rose; and capitalists forsook land as a subject of investment, and poured out their coffers, in a spirit of the wildest speculation, on the stocks which were thrown so profusely into the market. The discounts of the bank were increased to dimensions altogether incompatible with the quantity of its capital paid in, and what made the evil still more fatal was that, instead of being confined to mercantile paper, they were granted principally to stockholders on the hypothecation of the stock of the bank itself. Instead of $7,000,000 of specie, as required by the charter, being paid in before the commencement of operations, it is estimated that but little more than one third of that sum was received. The resumption of specie payment drew daily more near; and the directors, aware of the incapacity of the bank to meet in its bloated state the demands which would be pressing upon it, began a rapid curtailment of

the loans they had thrown so liberally on the market. In the course of eight months, between the 30th of July, 1818, and the 1st of April, 1819, loans were drawn in to the amount of of $6,530,000 49. The aggregate loss in two years, through the fraud and carelessness of officers, amounted to more than $3,500,000. The dividends amounted at the same time to $4,410,000. Of this sum, as mentioned by Mr. Cheves in a report made by him in 1822, $1,348,533 87 were received as the interest on the public debt, which leaves as the entire profits on all the operations of banking, the sum of $3,061,441 2, which is less by half a million of dollars, than the losses sustained in the same period. The institution, which on the 7th of January, 1817, entered into business with twenty eight millions of untrammelled capital, was reduced on the 6th of March, 1819, to the brink of bankruptcy, and had it not been for the admirable capacity of Mr. Cheves, and his undaunted honesty, would in two months more have fallen into the clutches of assignees.

Such was the cause of the first great fluctuation through which the monetary system was subjected by the operations of the first managers of the bank. Those whose memories date back so far can remember the distress it occasioned. In the New England States the reflux was felt the least, because removed from the immediate and more lively movements of the tide which took its rise from the mother bank, they were neither overwhelmed by its flood, nor sucked away when its ebb took place. But even the New England States, exempted as they were from the exotic luxuriance into which more favored regions blossomed forth, when forced by the tropical rays of the central institution, felt sensibly the blight that was experienced, when the stimulating heat was withdrawn, and they were left to suffer under a condensed and frozen atmosphere. Those rich and lofty plants, which had started up into ripeness under the grateful heat which was suddenly cast over them, dwindled away with a rapidity still greater, when the frost of contraction ensued. Fancy stocks died away, both root and branch; and though of the sounder institutions the foliage alone was destroyed, and the trunk remained in sufficient strength to become the basis from which a fresh growth should spring, yet there were many who had lived under their shadow, — whose property was placed in the investments they held forth, — who were driven forth into the desert to seek their shelter from the com-

mon charity of strangers. The commercial interests of the nation seemed broken down by the shock, and nothing but a system of management so judicious as that which the new administration of the bank entered into, assisted by the untiring enterprise of the people at large, saved both stockholders and people from common ruin.

The general features of Mr. Biddle's administration have been sketched under a previous head. The bank had been recovered by Mr. Cheves from the impending shipwreck, and the only business that remained to the pilot who succeeded was to carry her through a calm sea, and under a fair sky, till the opposite haven drew nigh. But before the charter had well expired the aspect of affairs had changed. The quiet patronage of Mr. Monroe, and the honest advocacy of Mr. Adams, were followed by the firm and uncompromising opposition that distinguished General Jackson through the whole of his administration. A bill for recharter was passed through Congress and was vetoed; an appeal to the people took place in which it became evident that the cause of the general government had been approved, and it was obvious that the official career of the bank, as a national institution, was drawing to a close. So far, however, from any attempt being made to withdraw its circulation, or to reduce its loans, they were increased in proportion as the period of the absolute expiration of its charter drew nigh. On the 2d of August, 1833, after the matter at issue had been finally decided by the people, its discounts amounted to $64,160,349 14, being an increase of two millions and a half within the preceding eight months. It was on the 23d of September that the gradual transfer of the deposits commenced. In the course of two months afterwards, upwards of six millions of dollars were withdrawn by the bank from circulation, though its comparative accomodations from the government within that period were in no degree diminished. Within four months, the sum drawn in amounted to nineteen millions, and before the first of October, 1833, the pressure in the principal commercial cities became so intense, as to terminate in a temporary prostration of trade.

To enter at large on the expansions and contractions of the Bank of the United States throughout its corporate career, would occupy a space incompatible with the dimensions of the present paper. Their extent and their character may be gathered from the destruction of capital and of credit they

have occasioned. The bank is now a wreck that is incapable of giving succor even to those who have risked in its behalf their fortune and their name. Its capital of thirty millions has burnt away, through the flickering of fluctuations, or the blaze of profligate expenditures, till little more than eight millions remain. Its stock which rose at one time as high as one hundred and fifty dollars a share, has been sold in the last three months at fifteen. It may be said, that with the exception of a few who, like mutineers, betrayed the ship in which they had been placed for the sake of the lucre which could be gained from her destruction, there is not one among the many who were connected with or interested in the bank, who has not participated in its ruin. The stockholders have found their property diminished in a short time to one tenth its value. The note-holders are unable to dispose of their paper except at considerable sacrifice. Even the inferior officers of the bank, innocent as they are of the frauds which by their superiors had been perpetrated, have been dismissed in part from the desk at which they have so long labored, and turned out to seek their subsistence in employments for which they are unfit; or else, have continued in their old situations with salaries so reduced, as to make even the prudence of continuance, under such circumstances, a matter of considerable question. It may be worth while, to close this division of the subject, to advert to two of the principal methods by which so great a loss was occasioned.

1. *The Cotton Speculations.* By the fifth section of the Act chartering the Bank of the United States under its State organization, it was provided,

"The said corporation shall not, directly or indirectly, deal or trade in anything except bills of exchange, gold and silver bullion, or in the sale of goods really and truly pledged, for money lent and not redeemed in due time, or goods which shall be the proceeds of its lands; neither shall it make any loan to any foreign prince or state, unless previously authorized by law." *

In July 1837, advances to the amount of $2,182,998 28 were made to A. G. Jaudon, for the purchase of cotton, to be remitted to Baring, Brothers & Co. of Liverpool, the proceeds of which were to be passed to their house in London, which was acting at the time as agent for the bank. "The

* Pamphlet Laws of Pennsylvania, 1835-6, p. 39.

derangement of the currency," said Mr. Biddle on the 10th of December, 1838, when explaining in a letter to Mr. Adams the nature of the operations thus opened, "placed the staples of the South entirely at the mercy of the foreign purchaser, who could have dictated the terms of sale to the prostrated planter. It was thought proper to avert that evil by employing a large portion of the capital of the bank in making advances on Southern produce." In the close of 1837, Mr. Samuel Jaudon, having succeeded the Barings in the agency of the bank, and being required by the articles of agreement which was entered into upon his taking the office, became the medium through which speculations still more vast and momentous were to be carried on. The capital drawn from the bank, and carried within the current which was thus created, reached in 1837, 1838, and 1839, to $ 8,969,450 95. The nett profits as late as May, 1839, are estimated by the committee of investigation in their first report at $800,000, the whole of which was paid over to Messrs. Bevan and Humphreys of Philadelphia, the correspondents of Biddle and Humphreys of Liverpool, by whom the adventure had been conducted since the dissolution of the connexion between the bank and the Barings. In August, 1840, it was discovered that from the embarrassments of the monetary system both in England and America, from the great depreciations of Southern funds, and the still greater depreciation of the cotton itself, there was a nett loss to the bank, on balancing the accounts, of $962,524 13. An application was made by the cashier to the parties by whom the concern had been carried on, and who had received the profits to which it had previously given rise, for an amount sufficient to cover the deficit. Mr. Biddle himself, it being then eighteen months since he had retired from the presidency, was called upon to return $ 315,695 14, being the portion for which he was individually responsible. Had the operations under which the loss occurred been conducted by the bank alone in its corporate capacity, it would follow, that the agents, who had been made the vehicle by which it moved, would have been irresponsible for loss, except in case of gross negligence or fraud. But it happened that they had already received whatever profits had been gained under the two first accounts, and as it was difficult to see in what way they could monopolize the profits of the adventure without being responsible for its losses, they were required by the

bank to make good the deficiency in the capital which they had made use of for the purpose. It was answered by Mr. Biddle that "the loss was in fact occasioned by the sacrifice of this property," (the cotton in the hands of Humphreys and Biddle in Liverpool, which was thrown on the market in a mass, at the risk of the owners, for the accommodation of Mr. Jaudon,) "in order to sustain the bank in Europe from the embarrassments brought on wholly by the bank itself."* But neither the answer nor the opinions by which it was backed were sufficient to the bank under its new management, and at last, when matters had come to the extremity in which nothing but entire concession would have saved the managers of the cotton speculation from a suit at law, Mr. Biddle yielded the whole matter in demand, under the pretext that he did so "without the slightest obligation," and under the impression that he was "giving a strong proof how far ancient and kindly recollections prevailed over all selfish considerations."*

It is not necessary at present to enter more largely into the history of the cotton transactions of 1837–40. The bare details have been spread open, and yet, simple as they are, the eye is puzzled to discover the bearings in which they should justly rest. A vast commercial operation, involving the purchase and sale of the principal staple of the country to an unlimited extent, is carried on by the capital and through the facilities of an institution which is precluded by its charter from such transactions, either directly or indirectly. The president of the bank, and the bank's European agent, officers who are pledged, the latter by an express contract, the former by an implied agreement, to devote their entire energies to the body for which they act, enter into an extended speculation, with their colors flying, and with the credit and name of the bank itself. If they acted in the character of officers alone, as they were bound to do, they were guilty of a manifest perversion of the charter of the bank; of contempt of the authority of the directors, with whom they neither consulted nor advised; of disregard to the by-laws of the bank, which required that money loaned should be approved by the exchange committee and so reported; of gross contempt of the maxims, which require that the agent should exhibit in his treatment of

* Mr. Biddle's first Letter to Mr. Clayton, April 15th, 1841.

the property of his principal the most untiring prudence, and the most spotless honesty; and of a violation of the fundamental rules of society, in retaining to the amount of $800,000, profits which belonged to the bank alone. If they acted as private individuals, it follows that they made use of their official connexion with the bank, as a means by which money could be extracted from it without limit and without account; and that when it turned up that the whole concern was losing, they made endeavors — which were only unsuccessful from the fact that Mr. Biddle himself had lost his supremacy with his seat, — to shift upon the institution, which they had already so deeply involved, the loss which had arisen in their private speculations.

2. It was remarked by the investigating committee of April, 1841, that an exaggerated proportion of the debts of the bank, both active and suspended, was held by brokers and by corporations in distinction from the mercantile community. The loans to seven incorporated or other companies alone amounted to $1,211,193 22. So far also, from the credit of the bank being spread generally over the community, it was found that it had been clotted in a great degree into detached masses, to assist the enterprises, or to nurture the credit of particular establishments. Thus it was reported that there were "six individuals and firms whose debts amounted to $2,314,000, two of whom are over $650,000 each, a large amount of which will be lost; and four others, who have loans amounting to $569,000, "one firm in the city of Philadelphia, also, is stated to have received accommodations between August, 1835, and November, 1837, to the extent of $4,213,878 36, and on the first of January, 1837, twenty-one individuals, firms and companies, stand charged each with an amount of $100,000 and upwards. On the 6th of March, 1835, a resolution, which may be taken as the cause of a large portion of the losses which have since been sustained, was passed by the board, authorizing the appointment by the president of a committee of three, who should "make loans on the security of the stock of this bank, or other approved security, and if necessary, at a lower rate than six, but not less than five per cent. per annum." By the third of March, 1836, the loans on bank stock, and on other than personal security, had arisen to the sum of $20,446,367 88. The means of the institution became locked up in debts for which the personal secu-

rity was bad, and the collateral security inadequate. To meet its notes which to the amount of twenty millions were pouring in, to meet the bonus due to the State of Pennsylvania, and to pay off the stock belonging to the general government, it became necessary to enter largely into the European market, and to borrow at whatever premium and under whatever conditions it might please the foreign capitalist to impose. The coffers of the bank were filled with depreciated stocks which were brought in in return for the money it had lent out. The vaults were rapidly exhausted of their specie. There was scarcely a worthless security which was not taken at par for the payment of debts for which no other satisfaction could be obtained; there was scarcely a security of respectable value that was not shipped to England in pledge for the debts there contracted; and in the course of four years from the passage of the resolution of 1835, the institution was virtually bankrupt.

The Bank of the United States is now the shell of what it was at the time of Mr. Cheves's resignation. The lofty banking rooms the capacious vaults remain, but like the old habitation of the South Sea Company, their benches deserted and their coffers empty. Those great enterprises, which were to connect the old world with the new by tendons as invisible as they were to be mighty, have crumbled away before their span was stretched. The bridge of credit, ere its abutments were laid on the sands of the opposite coasts, has melted away before the blasts by which in the first tempest it was assaulted. Had it been an erection of the fancy alone, — had it been that as an adventure of a few wild speculators it had been raised, and that in its fall its designers alone were ruined, — it would be a subject which would arouse our wonder rather than our condemnation, and whose history would be taken as a well drawn moral of the humiliation which awaits the founders of schemes so daring and so flagitious. But the architect of the Bank of the United States is the one who, alone among the many who were connected with it, has been undisturbed by its fall. There were multitudes who were led under its arches, — women or minors, whose legal incapacity disqualified them for the superintendance of landed property; and the dependants on charitable endowments, which were so invested by the will of their founders, — there were multitudes who were led within the arches of the bank who found, when their entire wealth was sucked within its portals, that its beams were yielding, and its

massive pillars breaking under the weight that was placed upon them. It is to such, — to the helpless and the unprotected, — that the bankruptcy of the institution comes most home; and in future generations, when the names of those who conducted it, will in the charity of the historian be dropped, the Bank of the United States will be placed with the South Sea Bubble and the Mississippi Scheme, at the head of those colossal engines of injustice, which are framed by the cunning of the few and are fed by the credulity of the many.

We have thus passed through a general examination of an institution that was chartered by the general government of the United States, and rechartered after its first limitation had expired by one of the sovereign members of the Union. It was rated at the time as the most complete exemplification of the system it was meant to bring into practice. It was founded on the experience of the old Bank of North America, of the banks of England, of Amsterdam, and of France; it was framed by statesmen the most enlightened and the most cautious; and it was launched into its corporate existence with a pomp that showed the confidence which its builders had in its success. We can now look over the course that was taken by the ship which was thus sent forth; and when a similar adventure is proposed, or a similar voyage advised, we can judge, from the chart which is stretched before us, how far an institution, organized on the same principles, can meet the storms and avoid the wreck which are there recorded. The fall of the Bank of the United States, is to be attributed much more to the defect of its construction, than the violence of the opposition it experienced. Commercial fluctuations will in all eras be experienced; they are as incidental to the great affairs of trade, as tide to the ocean; and there is no bank, whose charter extends to the usual period, that can expect to avoid their eddies. Negligence and fraud will always exist as long as human nature in its present form continues; and there is no bank, which is not placed under restraints the most severe and guards the most religious, that can escape the losses which they cause. The Bank of the United States was exempted not only from the necessary legislative restraints, but from the limitations which would have been incidental to a private concern. When so vast an establishment was chartered, there should have been no check too hampering and no watch too cautious, to have been imposed. But when the Bank of

the United States went into operation, not only did Congress refuse to require anything more than nominal restrictions, but its stockholders were freed from any liability beyond the stock they held, and its directors were made totally irresponsible. We beheld the spectacle of an institution of gigantic strength, thrusting itself into the ordinary affairs of trade; glutting the market at one time to the loss of the producer, holding back at another till the consumer was starving; creating a vast amount of fictitious capital by its discounts and its issues; forcing into circulation its promises without any limit of law or discretion; and finally, when the measure was full, and it was a debtor throughout the country to an amount nearly double of its capital, shutting its gates, and drawing itself behind the immunities on the faith of which its course had been shaped. We see directors and officers, who, if they had been directly responsible for the debts of the bank they governed, would long ago have checked it in its course, sitting in quiet enjoyment of property which is not even shaken by the shock. There is an example of faithlessness given by such an exhibition more forcible than that which arises from our bankruptcy itself; and it becomes our duty to take into solemn consideration the means by which our character, as a people, may be redeemed from the dishonor by which it is covered. We have learned, at the price of shattered credit and a dishonored name, a maxim which had we acted on before, would have saved us from our late humiliation. We have learned that there is no policy so safe as honesty, and that honesty to be certain should be ensured by the severest sanctions. To those through whom the pillars of this great republic are supported, we commend the lesson, in trust that through measures which by them alone can be effected our past dishonor may be effaced, and our future integrity established.

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ART. II. — *Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians, including their Private Life, Government, Laws, Arts, Manufactures, Religion, and Early History; derived from a comparison of the Paintings, Sculptures, and Monuments still existing, with the Accounts of Ancient Authors. Illustrated by Drawings of those subjects.* By

J. G. Wilkinson, F. R. S., M. R. S. L., &c., author of "A General View of Egypt, and Topography of Thebes," &c. In Three Volumes. London: John Murray. 1837. 8vo. pp. 406, 446, 404.

Everything that pertains to Egypt is interesting to the antiquarian and theologian. Its monuments and sculptures are the oldest in the world, and carry us back farther in the history of the world than any other remains of remote antiquity, if we except the sacred books of the Jews. The labors of no other people of so remote an age have come down to us. And it is through them alone, that we are to learn the attainments which were made in the arts and sciences, ages before Pericles "found Athens brick and made it marble." And we find, that not a few of those arts, which have been supposed to owe their origin to Grecian genius, were understood before Cecrops left Egypt to colonize in Attica.

But especially interesting is the history of ancient Egypt, as it throws light, strong and needed light, upon sacred history. There was a time in theological inquiries, when the authenticity of the Pentateuch was denied, because it was supposed that writing was not understood at as early a day, as that in which this document was supposed to be written. Later researches, however, have convinced such, that there are the best reasons for supposing, that it had been long understood at that time. And every year almost new discoveries are made, which strengthen the faith of those who believe, that Moses was the author of that portion of the Bible. We are not yet in possession of all the light, which will be thrown upon the early period of man's history; and he is wise, who stands ready to receive it, as it shines more and more purely. The nature of the evidence derived from the monuments of ancient Egypt, as far as it is confirmatory of the authenticity and genuineness of the Scriptures, is this. Moses declares, that the children of Israel were in bondage in Egypt; that they were compelled to make brick; that they used straw in its manufacture; that they finally fled from Egypt with great abundance of gold and silver; that they were soon provided with arms for defence and attack; and that they were so well skilled in the arts, that they could work in gold, and copper, and linen interwoven, or inwrought with figures and gold. Now, in reference to the arts, we find in the tombs remains of ornaments, and utensils of the

age of Moses and earlier, showing that there was skill amply sufficient to manufacture all the articles of which Moses speaks, and that such had been made centuries before. Then, again, the paintings on the walls of the tombs and temples represent other articles of manufacture, no specimens of which have yet been found, demonstrably proving, as far as the arts are concerned, that they were sufficiently well understood at the time in which Moses wrote, to enable the Israelites to manufacture all the articles, of which he speaks. The condition, then, of the arts, at the time in which the writer of the Pentateuch lived, is no objection to its antiquity; for the monuments of Egypt show, that the arts were as well understood in the time of Moses, as they are represented to have been in the books, which he is supposed to have written. The monuments and the record correspond.

As far as discoveries have been made, everything goes to confirm the truth of the Mosaic record. Nothing has been found, which derogates in the least from its authority. The most that can be said is, that some things have not been discovered, which would be conclusive upon the subject, and set the question at rest forever. No unequivocal representations, either in painting or sculpture, have yet been found of the Israelites. No history of their going into Egypt or going out of it, or of their residence in it, has yet been discovered, of so decided a character as to leave no doubt upon the mind. There is, however, at Beni Hassan, a painting of some "strangers," who are called "captives" in the hieroglyphics, who have been conjectured to be Jacob's family, as the drawing is as ancient as the time of Joseph, if no mistake has been made in judging of its antiquity. The hieroglyphics state, that they are thirty-seven in number, which is not the number of Jacob's family; besides, they are called "captives," which does not agree with the character in which Jacob's family entered Egypt; they came as guests. It may be, however, that the detestation, in which the Egyptians held shepherds, caused this epithet to be applied to them. It is to be remembered always, however, that but a small portion of the monuments have been thoroughly explored; and also, that the means of decyphering the hieroglyphical figures are not fully understood. The time may come when it will be found, that record is made of these events, so interesting both to the antiquary and Christian.

Another consideration, however, should be here introduced.

It is, that it is not to be expected, that all events are recorded in this way, or recorded at all. In the selection of topics for pictorial and hieroglyphical representation and interpretation, reference would be had to those which were most interesting at the time, and most honorable to the people. And it is not clear, that the arrival of seventy persons of low employment, (shepherds are of no repute among the Egyptians,) would be considered an event worthy of notice. The presumption would be, that no record would be made of such an event. And the shame of defeat and loss would be a sufficient inducement to them not to record their triumphant departure. Should no reference be found to them, therefore, in what remains of Egyptian history, there are sufficient reasons for their silence on that point, and an argument could not be raised, of any force, against the facts as recorded by Moses, on this ground. The Egyptians, as other nations, are accustomed to record their victories, not their defeats.

The volumes, whose titles are given at the head of this article, —which we notice at this late hour for purely theological purposes, — are filled with descriptions of ancient Egyptian customs and arts, which throw much light upon Hebrew history. Half of the first volume is occupied with a brief history of Egypt; the rest of the work is taken up in describing the different castes, the priests, the military order, the husbandmen, the huntsmen, the artificers, the pastors, the arts and manufactures, domestic and social customs. The author is evidently a cautious and skilful antiquarian. He rarely indulges his imagination, but gives us, page after page, facts. He is not a theorist, but a fact-gatherer; and he has accumulated a vast amount of facts, which aid us much in the study of ancient history and customs. We have already suggested what the nature of this aid is. It is our purpose in the present article, to show, in some degree, what is its amount, and generally its application to the Jewish history; especially that portion of it, which has been usually ascribed to Moses. Let us, then, proceed to consider whether all the arts, of which Moses speaks, were not in a state of perfection equal to that in which he represents them to have been at that early period; and whether the monumental record of the kings does not correspond, in a good degree, with the account of the sacred historian.

Little is said respecting Egypt by the sacred writer before the migration of Abraham, about 1920 years before Christ. Mr.

Wilkinson supposes, that the great pyramids were built a century before this time. The number of workmen, it must have employed to raise such massive monuments, evinces the power and populousness of the land. And when we remember, that it was two hundred years after this, before Jacob went down into Egypt, and make due allowance for the improvements which would naturally be made in agriculture, we need not be surprised, that this land should be the granary, to which other people would flock, especially Nomadic tribes, in times of famine to obtain supplies.

Osirtasen the First welcomed Jacob into Egypt, and monuments of the reign of this monarch still exist, showing that the Egyptians were acquainted with the manufacture of "glass, linen, cabinet work, gold ornaments, and numerous objects indicative of art and refinement." These we shall notice, presently, more particularly. From the monuments which are extant of this king's reign, it may be inferred, that he cherished the arts of peace, not those of war. And this corresponds with the impression which we gain from Scripture. His successors made conquests over foreign countries; and during both his and their reigns, commerce was in a flourishing condition; and a port was already in existence on the Red Sea, to receive the "gums and spices of Arabia;" thus showing the possibility, and demonstrating the probability of the Ishmaelites going into Egypt with merchandise, when Joseph was bought and carried away by them; and also making reasonable the fear of the monarch, when the people had multiplied, that they would join their enemies when a war fell out; for monuments show, that before this period extensive wars had been engaged in.

The king, who knew not Joseph, Mr. Wilkinson supposes to have been Amosis. He commenced a new dynasty, and was a Theban, or of Upper Egypt. Osirtasen the First, who invited Jacob and his family to come down into Egypt, and settle there, was a Tanite, or of Lower Egypt, where Jacob and his family principally abode. We say principally, for it would be very surprising if they did not wander at all from their original location. Well might it be said, that a king of Upper Egyptian origin did not know the history of Joseph and his brethren. In this, too, we find a striking coincidence between the monumental and sacred history.

That he should look upon these people with contempt as being "shepherds," (Gen. xlvi. 31,) and with fear as being so nu-

merous, is also confirmed by the monuments. "As if to prove how much they despised every order of pastors, the artists both of Upper and Lower Egypt delighted, on all occasions, in representing them as dirty, and unshaven; and at Beni Hassan, and the tombs near the pyramids of Geezek, we find them caricatured as a deformed and unseemly race." Such being the case, why should he not oppress them? Wars, too, were extensively carried on during the first reigns of this dynasty; and he would be very unwise, who should give opportunity for a servile war at home, when engaged in foreign conquests. Well, then, might they fear the numbers of the Israelites, lest they should "join their enemies, and fight against them."

The monuments of this age at Thebes, also, represent nations by their deputies, bearing tribute to the monarch sitting on his throne. And if they had power to make conquests abroad; if they could subdue all the western and southern part of Asia, they could furnish "chariots and horsemen" to pursue the departing descendants of their former guests. It is not declared in the sacred history that Pharaoh was destroyed in the Red Sea, and the monuments show that he lived after the Exodus. Again, corroborating the historian's correctness, Thothmes the Third, — such was the name of this Pharaoh, — erected monuments, which still stand to attest the fact of his surviving this catastrophe, which befel his army. And they prove the mechanical skill of the age by their beauty and symmetry. It is not necessary to proceed further with the history of the kings as recorded by the monuments which remain. As far as researches have been made, nothing contradicts, everything confirms, the Mosaic record; and we will only remark, respecting the title, "Pharaoh," which is applied to these kings and their successors, till the Persian invasion, that Mr. Wilkinson decides, contrary to the opinion of Josephus and Gesenius, "that it is not derived from *ouro*, 'king,' but from the Egyptian word, *phre*, (pronounced phra,) signifying the sun, and represented in hieroglyphics by the hawk and globe, or sun, over the royal banners." We leave the historical portion of our subject, then, by saying, that the different period assigned to the Exodus by Lord Prudhoe, as quoted by Mr. Wilkinson, also confirms the Mosaic account of that event, by the general correspondence of the monumental records with the sacred history, so that whichever of the two may be chosen, no detriment will be received by the history.

We learn from the Mosaic history, that slaves were bought and carried into Egypt, as being a good market for them. Joseph was sold to the Ishmaelites, and carried into Egypt. The monuments show, that Egypt abounded in slaves. White slaves were employed as well as black. Sculptures are found among the ruins of Thebes, representing the transfer of slaves. Many were sent into the country as tribute from conquered nations. Women and children were among them; and as they are found represented in the families of the priests, as well as in the families of that portion of the nation which went forth to war, to whom the captives fell as payment for their services, it is clear, that the captives taken were transferred from their first possessors. We have evidence, then, from other sources than Scripture, that at this early period of the world the Ishmaelites might find a market for human beings; and also, that they were carried from a distance to this market. Intercourse with Egypt was clearly common, and some of the slaves represented in the sculptures are from the northern tribes of Asia. But we have further and more conclusive evidence, that the intercourse of nations was extensive during this early period, than that which is derived from the captives and slaves found in Egypt. War did not open its path of destruction farther than commerce penetrated for the purpose of trade. Avarice and luxury prompted to as great labors as ambition and revenge. Ports were built upon the Red Sea in the time of Joseph, to accommodate the trade with Arabia and India; for there are representations of the productions of both these countries in the tombs at Thebes. Their commerce extended even as far as China in a very early age, for "Chinese bottles, with inscriptions in that language, are found in the ancient tombs at Thebes," but of what date is uncertain. Such being the case, there is no need of supposing, that the Pentateuch was written in a later age than the one usually ascribed to it, in order to account for the ready intercourse described as existing between Canaan and Egypt. Surely, a period when commerce extended to India, and, perhaps, to China, would furnish such means of intercourse, that Abraham might well go down to Egypt, and chariots be "sent up" to bring down Jacob and his family. Ishmaelites might well be carrying on traffic there, and a part of that traffic might be in slaves.

One branch of history throws light on another. If captives were so numerous, then armies must have been numerous

also. And Moses tells us, that Pharaoh pursued after Israel with "chariots;" a host followed the departing people. Unfold the doors of the tombs, that have been sealed for more than three thousand years, and we shall find "chariots," and representations of their manufacture; harnesses for the horses, and representations of men making them; battle axes, bows and arrows, falchions, swords, armor, all the paraphernalia of war. We shall see infantry arranged in solid phalanx, with spear and shield in hand, encased in metal, with helmets, clubs, pole axes, maces. We shall see represented assaults upon fortified towns, battering rams forced against the walls, scaling ladders, on which the men are ascending. And when we see all this, do we doubt, that Pharaoh could muster "chariots and horsemen," at this period, to pursue the escaping Israelites? And when they were overthrown in the Red Sea, their arms would float ashore, as they were mostly composed of wood, and thus furnish the Israelites with weapons in addition to what they would manufacture for themselves. So that there is no need of surprise at the possession of arms by the people, when they were attacked, in the early part of their journey, by the Amalekites. The returning waves of the sea would bring to the shore their bows and arrows, their spears, and shields of hide and wicker work, their helmets of quilted cloth, and maces; so that those, who were before deprived, probably, in a great measure, of arms, if not entirely so, would be furnished with a large number of weapons of war.

Jacob requests, that he may be buried in Canaan; and Joseph also desires, that his bones may be deposited in the land of promise. This also shows, that in the time of Moses intercourse was not thought to be difficult between Egypt and Canaan. That it was not so is evident from the record of conquests which were made in "Kanana," or Canaan, "Lemanon," or Lebanon, and "Askelon." "Lebanon" is represented in the Scriptures as "hilly, mountainous, abounding in lofty trees, inaccessible to chariots." Indeed, the whole tenor of the Mosaic history proves, that at that time intercourse was common between other nations and Egypt, and the monuments fully corroborate the account it gives. Moses also speaks of Hebron as "founded seven years before Zoan." Zoan was the ancient Fanis, and we have evidence, that this was built as soon as the age of Remeses the Great, two hundred years after Moses. Lord Prudhoe thinks, that Remeses was the

Pharaoh of Moses. If we adopt his view, then, the monumental history of the city is carried back two hundred years further.

We read, also, in Moses' history, of the murmuring of the people, and their desire to obtain the "leeks and onions of Egypt." The monuments show, that the country abounded with such vegetables. That they were used for food commonly is evident from the fact, that in later times the priests were forbidden to eat them; and that they were considered valuable is also evident, as they are found composing part of their offerings to their gods.

Another correspondence between the Mosaic account and the monuments may be mentioned here. We refer to the *borrowing* of the jewels, as our translators have rendered the passage, incorrectly, as we think. It rather should be "asked" or "begged" of the Egyptians "jewels of gold." That jewelry abounded in Egypt at this early period, is evident, both from the fact, that they manufactured it, and received it in their commerce with other nations, and also from the representations of tribute in jewelry. From the sculptures at Thebes, where the tribute brought by the conquered nations is represented, we find "the quantity of gold and silver in rings and ingots" equal to the amount described in "ancient authors." "That the riches of the country," says Wilkinson, "were immense, is proved by the appearance of the furniture and domestic utensils," vases of gold and silver being represented of exquisite workmanship, "and by the great quantity of jewels of gold, and silver, and precious stones, and other objects of luxury in use among them in the earliest times." That they were fond of jewelry for ornaments, is proved by the sculpture where females are represented with large rings in their ears, and often two and three on each finger. There are representations of the manufacture of gold articles, so that there is evidence not only of their trafficking for gold, and receiving it for tribute, but also of their working in it. It is not matter of surprise, therefore, that gold sufficient for the tabernacle should be found among the people, especially as they had been loaded with presents of it by the Egyptians, who had suffered so much from the plagues, in order that they might hasten their departure. The Israelites would, of course, possess a good deal themselves, and what they received as a gratuity in addition to it, would be sufficient for all the purposes for which it was used.

Thus do the monuments of the Nile corroborate the Mosaic history. Another and distinct account of this age, as far as that account and the sacred writings refer to the same topics agree, showing as conclusively as presumptive evidence can do, the truth of the books of Moses. We have hinted at a few distinct cases of agreement. We now propose to show, that the state of the arts in Egypt was such as they are represented to have been in that age by Moses. The tabernacle and its furniture, the dresses of the priests, and their instruments of music, as described by Moses, demanded no small knowledge of the arts of working metals, and wood, and cloth. Let us see if the memorials of the skill of that remote age do not conclusively show, that they were abundantly able to perform all that Moses describes them as performing; that they were not only able to make linen, but "fine linen;" not only could work gold, but also could make it into articles of "cunning workmanship." And, unless we greatly err in our opinion, the reader will coincide with us in the conclusion, that the people of that age were equal in skill to anything which Moses describes. But to our purpose.

We must pause one moment more, however, to introduce the art and manner of brick-making. This was one of the employments of the Israelites in Egypt. We say *one* of the employments, for the same passage, (Ex. i. 14,) which says "they [the Egyptians] made their [the Israelites'] lives bitter with hard bondage in mortar and in brick," also says, "and in all manner of service in the field." And we read, that to make the labor of working in mortar and making brick more arduous, they were no longer furnished with straw. "So the people were scattered abroad throughout the land of Egypt to gather stubble instead of straw." (Ex. v. 12.) "The use of crude brick, baked in the sun, was universal in Upper and Lower Egypt, both for public and private buildings. Inclosures of gardens or granaries, sacred circuits encompassing the courts of temples, walls of fortifications and towns, dwelling-houses and tombs, in short, all but the temples themselves, were of crude brick." Even some of the smaller temples were constructed of brick. Representations are found of persons making bricks as early as the time of Moses. But as the remains of antiquity in Lower Egypt, where the Israelites lived, and mostly labored, have not been preserved, it is not to be expected, that we shall find on the monuments any notice of them. "It is worthy of remark,"

says Wilkinson, "that more bricks bearing the name of Thothmes the Third, (whom I suppose to have been the king of Egypt at the time of the Exodus,) have been discovered, than of any other period." Many of these bricks are made with straw, and not a few have "chopped barley and wheat straw, others bear palm and *stubble*." The straw and stubble were mixed with the mortar to make it cohere more strongly, and not used to burn the bricks, as Myles Coverdale supposed. Their bricks were never burned, except for wet places and torrent-beds. Who, as he looks upon these relics of antiquity, these memorials of bondage under the Pharaohs, can help feeling the truth of the sacred narrative. Who can say but some Hebrew's hand kneaded the mortar of which that brick is made, which he holds in his hand? May we not add, as we have ventured to digress so far, that Deut. xxv. 2, in which it is said the judge shall cause the offender "to lie down and be beaten," is illustrated by the monuments at Beni-Hassan, where is a representation of one lying upon his face, held by two persons, at his hands and feet, while another applies the rod to his back. We return.

Our object is to show, that the arts, as described by the monuments of Egypt, were in as advanced a state as they are described to have been in by the writer of the Pentateuch, at that early period. And we will commence with music. Musical instruments are spoken of very early in the sacred writings. Before the flood we have an account of the invention of musical instruments, and read that "Jubal was the father of all such as handle the harp, and organ" or "some wind instrument" as distinguished from stringed instruments. Probably it was a simple pipe; perhaps a number of pipes, like what is called Pan's pipe. We read of the cymbal, and trumpet, and horn, and tabret, and timbrel. Silver trumpets were made for the tabernacle. "Miriam the prophetess," or singer, "the sister of Aaron, took a timbrel in her hand; and all the women went out after her with timbrels and with dances." "Jepthah's daughter came out to meet him with timbrels and with dances." Moses and the people sang as they escaped the pursuit of Pharaoh at the Red Sea. Music and musical instruments are spoken of as if they were well understood. They are not mentioned as if there could be any suspicion about their existence, or the capacity of the people to manufacture trumpets, and timbrels, harps, and lyres.

That the people of this age did thus understand music, and

could thus manufacture its instruments, is conclusively and abundantly shown, from the remains of the art, that have come down to us, as preserved in the monuments which modern researches have unsealed. Representations of drums and cymbals are found, in great abundance, in the paintings of the tombs, and some have been preserved almost entire. Drums are found represented in the sculptures at Thebes, as early as 1600, B. C., that is, before the time of Moses. They were similar to our bass-drum, and swung upon the shoulders in much the same way, but appear, in some cases, to have been beaten by the hand. The case was of wood, or copper, covered at the ends with "parchment, or leather," and means were used very similar to those of the present day, for "bracing" the heads. Drum-sticks are also found in the tombs. Another kind of drum is found, of tunnel shape, over the large end a piece of parchment or leather is strained, which is struck with the fingers of the right hand. Cymbals are also found, not only painted and sculptured on the walls of the tombs, but also in nearly an entire state. They were made "of mixed metal, apparently brass, or a compound of brass and silver, and of a form exactly resembling those of modern times." They were not more, however, than "five and a half or seven inches in diameter." They had, also, hollow balls of brass, sometimes made in the shape of the human head, attached to a handle or cylinder, which were carried one in each hand, and smote together, or shaken so as to produce sound from the balls within these heads. There are also representations and remains of other instruments of this character, carved over with figures, and showing skill in a high degree in working metals. A chain, made of rings, was carried in one hand, to be shaken, probably as an accompaniment to other music; and also, another instrument is found, to be carried in the hand, composed of an oval twice as long as it is broad, to one end of which is attached the handle, often highly ornamented, and through which oval bars are put, on which are three or four rings, which give a jingling sound when the instrument is shaken by the hand. The handles of these instruments are highly ornamented, consisting sometimes of the human form; sometimes the top of the oval, through which the bars are put, has a cat reclining on it, or the horns, globe, and features of the goddess Athor. Except the drums, the instruments which we have mentioned were of the simpler kind, and required not as much skill, perhaps, in their manufacture, as some others.

They were, however, of metal, and show that skill was necessary in their construction. Especially is the carved work on them evidence of the progress of art.

Let us consider their wind instruments. Moses is commanded to "make two trumpets of silver, of one piece," in Numbers x. 2, and we read of trumpets being blown repeatedly; showing that they were a common instrument, and that the people were familiar with their use. Representations of trumpets are found in the tombs at Thebes. They are "about one foot and a half long, of very simple form, apparently of brass." It was used either "alone, or with other instruments," and when the trumpeter blew upon it, "he held it in both hands." It was apparently of one piece. Pipes, also, are found in the tombs, both single and double; and flutes, also, are shown to have been in use at this period. They are found in a representation "sculptured in a tomb behind the Great Pyramid, seventeen hundred years before Christ, about the time of Jacob." They were very long, so that the players were compelled to extend their arms at full length to play upon them. The pipes which have been found, are from nine to thirteen inches long. Wind instruments, then, had been invented, and were in common use in the days of Moses. It is not improbable, that Jubal's "organ" was similar to these pipes.

When Laban overtook Jacob, who had fled from him with his wives, his father-in-law asks why he thus secretly departed, and deprived him of the privilege of sending him away "with mirth and with songs, with tabret and harp." (Gen. xxxi. 27.) And earlier still, Jubal, before the flood, is said to have invented the "harp," as well as "organ." Let us see if stringed instruments were not in use at the time, and before the time of Moses.

Harps are found represented of the most costly materials, as well as of the most simple kind, and many "were richly ornamented with brilliant colors and fancy figures." A very great variety of harps is found, varying both in form, size, and number of the strings. They are found with as few as four, and as many as twenty-two strings, and higher than the head of the player. They are "tastefully painted, with the lotus, and other flowers," or with fancy pictures. Those for the royal family, or the minstrels who played in their presence, were "fitted up in the most splendid manner," and "adorned with the head or bust of the monarch himself." Harps are found

represented in the sculptures near the pyramids of Geezeh, at least thirty-five hundred years old. Harps of fourteen, and lyres of seventeen strings were used at least fifteen hundred and seventy years before Christ, in the reign of Amasis or Amosis, the "king who knew not Joseph." And so dry are the tombs, and thus so fitted to preserve substances, that harps were discovered at Thebes in 1823, so well preserved that the strings, which were of catgut, upon being struck, emitted sound! "Echo of a former age!" Some appear as if they were made of tortoise shell; some were raised upon a stand when played. They had the means of tightening the strings by means of thumb screws, or something nearly resembling them, showing that the art was not in its infancy when Jacob went into Egypt. Some of their harps were triangular in shape, and others very nearly resembling the guitar; the neck and body were slightly curved.

The lyre was "not less varied in form and the number of its chords than the harp. Some of the lyres were highly ornamented, some were struck with a plectrum, others with the fingers, and sometimes they struck the chords with the left hand, while they used the plectrum with the right." In the figures which are conjectured to be Jacob and his family coming into Egypt mentioned before, one has a lyre, showing that it existed in its glory at that period. — The individual is represented as playing both with his fingers and the plectrum.

The Egyptian guitar has but three chords, and there are representations of persons playing upon it at the same time that they dance. They also often played upon cymbals, or the tambourine while dancing; and in their social, festive music they accompanied their instrumental music with their voice. There is a beautiful representation at Alabastron of a blind minstrel playing upon his harp accompanied by a choir of blind singers. When Miriam went out to celebrate the overthrow of Pharaoh there was dancing as well as song. And so also when Jephthah's daughter went out to meet her father it was with "timbrels and dances." There are representations, in the tombs, of dances, one as old as the fifteenth century before Christ. The women are represented as dancing to the music of the "tabret," or tambourine, which they play at the same time. The royal family were not permitted to dance, — it was thought undignified; but they were permitted to see dancing. They could look, without being degraded, upon

that which would degrade them were they to do it themselves. And they could applaud the "*pirouette*," with as much rapture at an Egyptian festive party in the time of Moses, as it can now be applauded in any Thespian temple. — Specimens of this kind of dance are given in the sculpture 3500 years old. The Egyptians danced not only at their festive meetings, but also at the temples as a religious service. How much the sacred dance differed from the common festive dance it is not now easy to determine, but as far as the sculptures aid us in forming an opinion, there could be but little difference.

So fully is the Mosaic account of the culture of music, and the instruments used in its performance, confirmed by the silent yet conclusive declarations of the Egyptian monuments. Moses mentions nothing relating to this science which was not well understood from fifteen hundred to two thousand years before Christ. Musical instruments most perfect of their kind, and of exquisite workmanship existed in those days; they accompanied them with the voice, and not unfrequently with the dance. Such is the monumental testimony.

We turn now to a consideration of the ability of the ancients to manufacture vessels, — sacred, and domestic utensils, — of metals as described by Moses. We read of a serpent of "brass," (Num. xxi. 9,) of a "brazen altar," (Ex. xxxix. 39,) of rings overlaid with brass, (Ex. xxxviii. 6,) of rings made of brass, (Ex. xxxviii. 5,) of net work of brass, (Ex. xxxviii. 4,) of casting sockets of brass, (Ex. xxvi. 37,) of a laver of brass, (Ex. xxx. 18,) and of brazen censers, (Num. xvi. 39.) We also read of work in gold; — of the ark overlaid with pure gold, (Ex. xxv. 11,) of a mercy seat of pure gold, (Ex. xxv. 17,) of dishes, spoons, covers, and bowls — or, as the two last should be rendered, cups and cans, of pure gold, (Ex. xxv. 29,) of a candlestick of pure gold, (Ex. xxv. 31,) of snuff dishes of pure gold, (Ex. xxv. 38,) of a plate of pure gold with an engraving upon it as the engraving of a signet of Holiness to the Lord, (Ex. xxviii. 36,) of a golden crown to the border of the table of shew-bread, (Ex. xxv. 25,) of a golden bell, (Ex. xxviii. 34,) of a golden chain for the neck, (Gen. xli. 42,) of golden ear-rings, (Ex. xxxii. 2,) of a golden calf, (Ex. xxxii. 20.) We read also of work in silver; of chargers of silver, of bowls of silver, (Num. vii. 84,) of trumpets of silver, (Num. x. 2,) of sockets of silver, (Ex. xxvi. 19,) of hooks of silver, (Ex. xxxviii. 29,) and of Joseph's

silver cup, (Gen. xliv. 2.) We read also of earthen vessels, (Lev. vi. 28.)

That all these articles were made at this early period by the Egyptians is demonstratively proved by the monuments that remain. They had drinking cups and vases of "hard stones, alabaster, glass, ivory, bone, porcelain, bronze, silver, or gold," and also of "glazed pottery or common earthenware." Many of their vases would do "honor to the skill of the Greek artist." Many are found in the tombs, and some of the most elegant are of the age of Moses. Their forms are elegant, the materials of which they were made rich, and some of silver were inlaid with gold. Gold and silver cups were often beautifully engraved, and set with precious stones. The handles of the cup were often composed of some animal's head, and their eyes were often made of emerald, or amethyst. Gold, in rings, composed part of the treasures of the kings. Names were frequently engraven upon alabaster vessels, and one is preserved in Alnwick castle on which is the name of the queen. Rings were worn by the ladies on their hands and in their ears; and necklaces of various patterns, and rich materials, are found represented among the paintings. Bronze vessels are also found of such perfect workmanship as to "excite admiration." They emit rich sonorous sounds when struck, and admit of the finest polish. Knives and daggers are found made of it of so excellent a character, that they are elastic like steel. Some of their vases were supported on images of beasts with an elegantly wrought cover of the figure of some animal, or monster; others were supported by representations of slaves, or captives, who hold them on their shoulders. Some were ornamented with the head of the ibex, or the gazelle. Many of them were made of the richest materials, inlaid with precious stones. Earthen utensils for the kitchen are also found in the tombs in a good state of preservation; and in representations of their *cuisine* are the various implements for cooking. Seething, or boiling and roasting, seem to have been the more common methods of cooking meat. And there are, also, representations of catching the blood of the slaughtered animal in a vessel for the purpose of cookery, which abundantly illustrates the urgency and frequency of Moses' commands to abstain from it entirely. The art of cooking was well understood, if we may judge from representations in the sculptures, and it ceases to be a wonder how Rebecca could make the kid's meat "veni-

son." In the sculptures of the kitchen as we see persons carrying bread upon their heads from one department of the work to the other, we are reminded of Pharaoh's chief baker with three white baskets on his head.

But to return to metal dishes and furniture. Golden drinking cups are also found represented quite frequently, as well as silver and glass, bronze and earthen ware. Joseph's "silver cup was put in Benjamin's bag, when he left Egypt to return with his brethren to his father; and golden spoons are found probably not unlike those which were used to offer incense in at the tabernacle. The ladies' toilet was also furnished with a great variety of boxes and bottles of the precious metals, curiously ornamented and inlaid, to preserve ointments, paints, perfumes, and all the secrets of the Egyptian beauties' art. The carved work, the representations of gods, and monsters, and natural objects upon very many of these articles show a high degree of skill in working metals;—abundantly sufficient to make all the instruments, and furniture of the tabernacle, and ornaments of the people, of which we read in the books of Moses. The elegance with which this work is done shows, also, that the furniture of the sacred abode was not of so coarse and inelegant a character as we have been often led to suppose. On the contrary, we have evidence that richness and elegance were both combined in them. And the figures of the gods and monsters which the Egyptians worshipped, which are engraven upon their vases, cups, and dishes, illustrate the urgency of the command not to engrave the likeness of anything which was to receive homage among the Israelites.

We read also in the Mosaic history of the linen curtains for the tabernacle, and the fine twined linen, (Ex. xxv. 4; xxvi. 1.) We read of fringes on the borders of garments, and ribands of blue, (Num. xiii. 38.) We read of spinning "blue and purple and scarlet," and goat's hair, (Ex. xxxvi. 25, 26.) We read of cords for the curtains, and of garments of "cunning work, embroidered of blue, and purple, and scarlet, and fine twined linen, and the curious girdle," which were worn by Aaron and the priests.

If we turn from the sacred history to the testimony of the tombs, the sculptures, and paintings, and relics, we shall find that the Egyptians of that age were capable of manufacturing cloth which deserves the name of fine, and "cunning." Mr. Wilkinson says, "the quality of some linen in my possession is

to the touch comparable to silk, and not inferior in texture to our finest cambric." He protests against deciding upon the skill of the Egyptians in the manufacture of linen from the mummy cloths, as they were mostly of ordinary manufacture. Some pieces are found colored with indigo. Some pieces are woven in stripes with a blue border, and it is evident that the color was imparted to the threads previous to the cloth being made. Paintings of such cloths are found of the age of Jacob. The author mentions one piece that has been found "covered with small figures and hieroglyphics, so finely drawn, that here and there the lines are with difficulty followed by the eye." (Vol. iii. p. 126.) It might be reasonably inferred that the people could and did spin who were engaged in making cloth. And we find, in the sculptures of the earliest times, females engaged in spinning, and some of their spindles have been preserved. At Thebes is the representation of a "man who is engaged in making a piece of cloth with a colored selvage," a plate of which is given in the work before us. The process of rotting, beating, and combing the flax is also represented, so that the method of manufacture can be followed from the stalk as it is taken from the field, till it is transformed into "fine linen," purple, blue, and red, and "fine twined."

Rope-making, also, is represented. Though in the plate given by Mr. Wilkinson we should infer that the rope was made of leather and not of linen, or flax; a hide being shown, and a man cutting leather with a circular knife. Thin nets, however, parts of which have been preserved, were made of flax string.

Dresses are represented with fringes. They are nothing more probably than the ends of the thread composing the woof, and it may be, that the blue riband added by the Israelites, (Num. xv. 38,) was intended to strengthen, as well as ornament this portion of the garment. These dresses were made of linen; and the "apron" of the King, which he wore when he officiated as priest, "was richly ornamented in front with lions' heads, and other devices; the border was frequently formed of a row of asps, the emblems of royalty. Sometimes the royal name with an asp's head on each side, as *supporters*, was embroidered upon it, the upper part being divided into square compartments of different colors." (Vol. iii. p. 351.) Who can read this account and not trace a strong resemblance to the "breast-plate" of the high priest? True, no precious

stones are mentioned, but there are "square compartments of different colors," which might have answered the same purpose. We surely need not stop to show that sandals were common at this time, and that ornaments, such as rings, bracelets, and necklaces, abounded in the richest profusion, and of the greatest variety in material, form, and workmanship. Rings are found for the fingers with engravings of animals or fancy figures on them, and a signet of very large size, "which contained twenty pounds worth of gold," has been found; "on one face of which was engraved the name of the successor of Amunoph III., who lived about 1400 B. C." (Vol. iii. p. 373.) Armlets and bracelets are frequently found, and one has been deposited in the Leyden Museum made of gold, which bears the name of the King who oppressed the Israelites, and under whose reign the plagues were sent, and the people escaped. Is it merely imagination when we suppose that Moses may have beheld this bracelet upon the King? Pharaoh, we read, put a "necklace" upon Joseph after he had interpreted his dream; and necklaces are found of almost endless variety, and of the richest materials and workmanship.

We read also of engraving upon the precious stones in Aaron's breastplate the names of the tribes, and also upon the onyx stones which were upon the shoulders, as well as upon the plate of pure gold which was around his forehead, (Ex. xxviii. 9, 21, 36.) The precious stones, which were set in the rings of gold which were worn by the Egyptians, were engraven with the name of the wearer; some had the name of the monarch cut upon them; some had the emblems of their deities; others, very frequently, fanciful combinations. These precious stones were cornelian, agate, lapis lazuli. The poorer classes had glass colored in imitation of the precious stones, and so finely was it done, that in some instances, it is not easy to distinguish them.

As we have mentioned glass, perhaps we may as well say here that the art of glass-making was carried to quite a high state of perfection in the time of Jacob. Artists are found represented in the paintings or sculptures blowing glass, and glass bottles are found in the tombs, and vases of glass cut, or ground, which shows a degree of skill in the art which surprises us. Some articles are found which appear to have been cast in a mould, or pressed in a pattern as is now done. And what is still more remarkable, they appear to have had the

skill of making a kind of mosaic of very small pieces of glass of different colors, and then submitted the work to heat, and fusing the parts united to each other so that with a powerful magnifying glass we cannot tell where they were joined. Thus the figure which appeared only stained upon the outline is found to extend through the whole glass. Who will question the skill of Egyptian artists after such specimens of their work? Who will pretend that artists among the Israelites could not be found, who could engrave gold and precious stones, if they might not be able, as our version has it, to make a "*brazen laver*" out of "*looking glasses?*" What an amount of topics for reflection and discussion does one signet ring, or one picture of glass-making, or one specimen of glass mosaic, present?

If the Egyptians could make garments, they had needles; and needles are found. If they dressed and anointed their heads, combs and boxes of ointment existed; and both are found. The brazen laver was made of not "looking-*glasses*," as our translators would have it, but of *mirrors*. Brazen mirrors were used at the toilet, it seems, by the Israelitish women; and they cheerfully gave them in to the treasury of the Lord for the work of the tabernacle. Brazen mirrors are found in the tombs. The greater part "are of a mixed metal, chiefly copper," and such skill had they in the composition of metals, that these mirrors were "susceptible of a lustre which has even been partially revived at the present day, in some of those discovered at Thebes, though buried in the earth for many centuries." (Vol. iii. 384.) The mirror itself was round; the size is not distinctly stated. They were attached to a handle ornamented according to the taste and ability of the owner, and fixed upon an ornamented stand.

Should a question be raised about the ability of that age to work in wood, as described by Moses in the building of the tabernacle and overlaying some parts of it with gold, it can be answered in a word and conclusively. The manner in which the "boards" of the tabernacle were prepared, and the "pillars" of the court worked, did not exceed the skill of that age, as is directly proved by the sculptures, and the tools found in the tombs of Egypt. They could make "mortices" and "tenants," "dovetail elegant boxes" together, and overlay the carved work on them with gold. They could glue a nicer and more costly piece of wood upon a less valuable and less

ornamental piece, or in other words, veneer. Such an operation is represented in the sculptures of Thebes as old as the time of Moses. The "ark," the "table of show bread," all the wood work of the tabernacle, and all the work overlaid with gold could then have been made. Representations are given of sawing "plank." It was done by hand; a slow operation, it is true, yet it was done; and this is sufficient for our purpose. The "ark was overlaid with pure gold," and we find in Egypt "substances of various kinds overlaid with fine gold leaf," at the earliest period of which the monuments remain. It was used in the time of Jacob and Joseph. They then knew how to "inlay," or to coat, or plate. "Faces of mummies, even, are frequently overlaid with thick gold leaf." (Vol. iii. 236.) The "golden calf" made by Joshua was, probably, carved wood overlaid with gold; the golden candlestick was of pure gold; so was the "cover" to the ark, or as our translators have rendered it, the "mercy seat," and perhaps the cherubim over it, though these might have been only plated.

But why should we dwell on these points? It is clear, if anything of a historical character is clear, that there was skill to make all the articles mentioned by the sacred historian; engraving, sculpture, spinning, weaving, embroidering. Metallurgy in its various departments of working in gold, silver, iron, copper, and its compounds, were all understood. Earthenware was manufactured; representations of the potter's wheel are found. Even hydraulics were understood at that early period; there are sculptures of men using syphons in the age of Moses or his immediate successors. Bellows were used, and men are represented blowing them with the foot, (vol. iii. 339,) as early as the time of Moses. Some machinery was understood of no feeble power, or the mighty masses of rock could not have been heaved to the top of the Pyramids, nor could the Obelisks have been set on end in their present position; much less could the monolithic colossus of 887 tons weight have been drawn 138 miles in the age immediately preceding Moses and Joshua. That the Egyptians of this early age were skilled in the arts must be confessed. If they could make lyres, whose strings would give forth a sound in answer to the fingers after three thousand years; if they could make cosmetics for the toilet, which give forth odor after thirty-five centuries; if they could manufac-

ture sword blades whose elasticity is preserved to this day; if they could build pyramids like mountains of rock, and draw gold into thread like silk; if they could sculpture colossi forty feet high, and beat gold into leaves like paper, or sculpture it into forms of birds and animals; if they could weave linen so that it would be soft as silk after thousands of years, and paint so that their colors are brilliant after one hundred generations; may we not infer, nay, are we not compelled to believe that those, or some of them at least, who had resided with them for two centuries, and perhaps four, could build the tabernacle, and make its furniture; weave its linen, and embroider its priests' garments; carve its golden cherubim, and beat its golden candlestick from one piece; overlay its wood with gold, both its ark and incence altar; engrave "Holiness to the Lord" upon the front plate of Aaron, and the names of the tribes upon the precious stones in the brass of the altar of burnt offering, and the "wagons" to carry the "pillars" and "boards" of the "court" and "tabernacle?" Deny it who can.

Such is the kind of evidence, and such is a glimpse, and only one, at its amount, as far as facts of this kind are concerned, which the monuments of Egypt give to the truth, the genuineness of the Mosaic history. So many arts could not have been so perfectly understood without considerable refinement; and a people must have been in some measure cultivated, who could thus have advanced in the arts. Each art is connected with many others, and from the known we may reason to the unknown. How many arts, for instance, were connected with making glass, coloring it, cutting it? How many arts were connected with working in bronze and gold? Edged tools were in use. Where did they obtain their chisels to cut the hard granite? What artist can now temper bronze, so that it will cut hard stone? Knives too were made, and daggers, inlaid with gold and ivory, and the fashion was in those days of barbarism to shave the beard, which in these days of progress and civilization, and arts, and refinement, we perceive is going rapidly out of date; where did they obtain the necessary implements? These questions suggest the train of thought we wish the reader to pursue.

We close, then, as we began; we have no fear of the truth, or for the truth. The Mosaic record, we believe, will be confirmed by the facts, when properly understood, which antiquity

may furnish from its shadowy regions. We only ask candor and patience. We beg our critics, both new-fledged, and unfledged, to drive not with "laxas habenas." The better part of courage is prudence. And it is as true of criticism as of anything else.

R. P. S.

ART. III. — *Hovey's Monthly Magazine of Horticulture.* Boston. New York.

OUR subject is the Popular Taste in Gardening, and in Rural and Church Architecture. It is not our purpose to trace the progress that has been made in American art, to describe its present condition, or to account for whatever deficiencies and positive faults may be actually discoverable in our artists and their works. Without venturing on a field so wide, we would only endeavor to make apparent some reasons for a more general application of the principles of good taste to those arts, which sustain an intimate relation with rural contentment and pleasure, and religious worship; principles which all may gather from the world of nature, and which the easiest exercise of the creative faculty will transfer to the kingdom of Art. It is as difficult to see why a subject so practical in its bearings should be excluded from the circle of popular inquiries, as to learn why men should suppress, or imprison within themselves, those common sentiments of admiration for all beautiful things, which need only to be exercised, that they may be valued as among their best possessions.

Surely, the imperfect appreciation of natural scenery, hitherto exhibited by our population, is not singular. The strong-hearted men, who first appropriated the untouched territory, were not wandering, like Arcadian lovers, in search of valleys and plains filled with the presence of Beauty, and overhung by an atmosphere, all dreaminess and repose. Even the majesty that rose before them hardly kindled a thought, that could compare in sublimity with the great thought of Freedom and Right that possessed their souls. And so soon as the emergency in which that thought conquered had moved by,

the hard pressure of imperative wants was upon them, and they stood stricken with poverty in the midst of boundless resources of wealth. What wonder, then, that the nation, in grasping at treasures that no enterprise or competition seemed able to exhaust, should heedlessly mar the casket whence they were torn? Could the country's first laying out have been executed by men of leisure and education, with a deliberate reference to future times, so many steps had not been taken, that have now to be retraced. The accession of hungry roamers from old and crowded capitals has driven on the earlier inheritors in the strife for advantages, and the dust of the contest has not yet subsided nor its heat cooled. We have come, inevitably, to present the unusual spectacle of a vigorous people, passing at once beyond its infancy, without those materials for poetry which are found in a protracted and romantic childhood, seeking a ground-work for its fictions, not in the fables of any mythical period of its own, but in a race whose superstitions it has always understood, and which it has vanquished by its civilization and its arms. Gradually, however, as the years have increased, nature in her simplicity has begun to reveal herself to watchful eyes, and the voices she has whispered have given promises of a better future. As one encroachment after another is made by the eager spirit of self-aggrandizement on her beautiful domains, we look for a substitute in the reproductive power of art; a power that shall preserve imperishable images of the vanishing forms, perpetuate at least the echo of the broken harmony, and permit us to catch glimpses, in later days, of those fresh, wild scenes, over which enterprise is driving her ruthless ploughshare.

But then it will be asked, if this spirit of enterprise is not a worthier guest than the spirit of art, judging of the latter by the social condition in ages when it has been most alive. Is not the Hoosier, that breaks his iron implements against every root in his clearings, doing more for the world than the smooth-tongued Lazzaroni that saunter along the streets of the splendid cities of Italy, and perhaps lounge the year away on the very pavements and among the columns of St. Peter's? Certainly we would not forfeit all the progress that has been made in useful science, much less what has here been effected exclusively in advancing the principles of civil order, popular industry, right government, and religious truth. Such a dilem-

ma as that just suggested, and so often suggested, is not a natural nor an actual one. The more reasonable question, one that needs only to be presented, to be decided, is this. Were it not well for us, could we, learning the imperfections of past ages and other nations, incorporate among our happier institutions their schools of art, their reverence for the soul's true creations, could we transport into the midst of the pomp and pageantry of American scenery their Protogenes, their Coreggio, their Claude Lorraine, and Salvator Rosa?

Within a few years, something like a general movement in travelling, and a general admiration of fine sights has been observable. The superabundant wealth of nervous citizens retired from business is sometimes transferred to the pockets of rail-road contractors, hotel-keepers, and stage-proprietors. So far as this indicates a dissatisfaction with the artificial modes of thinking and feeling, that a perpetual town life is apt to induce, it is a thing to be welcomed and encouraged. Indeed, as the centralization of the community goes on, as manufacturing and commercial affairs assume a more prominent rank, in comparison with the interests of agriculture and the enjoyments of retired study, this must be one of the principal means of continuing the acquaintance between men and nature. A century ago, cultivated and refined minds were open to the influences that must come to them, in their serious occupations, from a land with a surface like our own. It is more recently that the sources of new freshness to the feelings have come to be considered rather as novelties that repay for the seeking; secrets which it argues much merit to discover, and no little insight to discourse upon in the capacity of virtuoso. Now, the facts themselves, the real indications of a growing disposition for travel, for exchanging confinement for freedom, walled streets for the green hill-side, a smoky air for the deep blue with which God encircles the mountains, these are never to be checked, but always to be accounted signs of good. Freedom from all that is affected and artificial is one of the best results of such a change, as well as a liberal conviction, that the world contains much besides and beyond self. The practical has its place, — we had almost said it has its place everywhere. We claim room for it here, in the study of beauty, the study of art. Whatever has to do with man's deepest interests, his moral being, his rational satisfactions, the purity of his heart, and the quickening of his generous affections, that in the high-

est sense is practical. And, in the individual mind, the more ready the perception of all beauty, the richer are the sources of innocent pleasure, the more enlarged the capacity for spiritual culture. There is no loss of manliness in that man's nature, who sometimes so far forgets the lessons of worldly wisdom, that he follows on the free way of a mountain stream, simply because he cannot turn back from its gracefulness and its music, and who feels that no secondary end needs be sought, when the influences of the hour have sunk into his soul. What can be conceived more pitiable and disgusting, than to see renewed among our countrymen the character of those Tuscan noblemen, who go in such numbers from city to country, not to be filled with the purifying pleasures of rural retirement, but to lavish, in a few weeks of shooting and dissipation, what for the rest of the year they have been saving with niggardliness and exaction.

It were equally well for those who never take the blessing when they may, and for those whose habitual possession of it render them insensible to its value, could they fully appreciate the possible power of these influences from the world without, over certain moods of mind To those who are wearied, worn down by the exhausting collisions and details of business, they are almost like the ministrations of religion itself. The head, sick with the clamor of noisy places, is laid on some grassy slope, and the dews are healing. The hill's light breath that takes to itself balminess and virtue from every tree and shrub, from the walnut-leaf that has such sweet strength in its juices, and the little herb on which each dew-drop turns to perfume, sheds its mingled richness everywhere. Then, the glistening water, the rose, the moss, and above all the sky and cloud, awaken that peculiar half-consciousness of the presence of scenes and voices, thoughts and raptures, that have been with us before, we cannot tell when or where. The careless carol of a bird, if the ear is not too much hardened, will make worldliness and pride, old hatreds and slumbering purposes of evil, to seem what they really are, loathsome invaders of the soul's peace. It is true, the slaves of a necessary custom learn to love, at last, the bricks and tiles that are familiar to their sight, and wish no change. So did that child of unutterable afflictions, Oliver Twist, burst into an agony of grief, when he lost sight of the wretched home where no kind word or look had ever lighted the gloom of his infancy. But

this only shows with what tenacity local feelings will take hold on even the meanest objects, and teaches us, while we pity those burdened victims of want, and admire the wisdom that gives them contentment with their lot, to lament that, noble as those feelings are, they have not found a nobler exercise.

We advert thus particularly to travel, and to the change that comes over the feelings from even a temporary dwelling where all is simple and native, because necessity excludes a large portion of the community from the possibility of introducing rural objects among their ordinary residences. And if regard be had solely to those whose fortunes and leisure enable them to seek retirement and recreation wherever these may be found, the country, in order to be attractive, must either remain in that simplicity where neither a dry utility has despoiled nature of its original charms, nor false taste has loaded it with those which are gaudy and coarse, or else it must have the true improvement and correct ornamenting of art. The former condition cannot long remain. In attaining the latter lies almost our only hope. Besides, in the growth of the arts of Painting, Sculpture, and Music, the first and most perfect works and performers will for a long time be gathered almost exclusively in those capitals, that are the centres at once of commercial and intellectual activity. In this way the enthusiasm, with which the public seek and study the collections, becomes some tolerable measure of the public interest. In order that these arts may exert their full power as a source of public instruction, they must be exercised in obedience to the public voice. Their results must be on a scale which only Institutions, national or state Academies, can reach. Those results will be attained only by the employment of resources which such associations can command. At present, however, for reasons obvious and often stated, we cannot look for galleries like those filled by slow accessions in the cities of the Old World. We cannot point to erections in Architecture like those of France, Italy, Germany, and England; nor to public gardens like those of Regent's Park, Carlsruhe, the Hague, Kensington, the Tuilleries, and the Luxembourg. But there is much to be done by various methods and in other fields; and it is here that we are now looking for the materials of a change.

It has always seemed to us a singular inconsistency, that those persons, who exhibit the most enthusiastic fondness for visiting places remarkable for natural beauty or the achieve-

ments of art, are yet almost entirely indifferent to the appearance of their own grounds and buildings. They can return from a delightful excursion through a cultivated rural district, and take up their abode for the remainder of the year where none of those admired objects are to be seen, yet where they may all be made to appear. Possibly there may be beings wearing the form of humanity, so despoiled of their true birthright by the baser passions, so blinded by hardening and grasping selfishness, so confused by the "world's accursed sorcery," that they never see, or see only to despise these bright and changing wonders, that spring up noiselessly from the earth's bosom and make it beautiful. But these are pitiable exceptions. A garden tastefully arranged by the roadside, a mansion or a cottage with a well chosen site, and agreeably shaded, seldom fails to draw a look, if not an expression of admiration from the intelligent passer-by. It is from this fact we infer that the mass of the people need rather to be persuaded of the importance of following a strictly natural method in the practical application of artistical principles, than to be instructed in artificial rules. Artists must still be the great leaders. But let us convince ourselves that they must be few. We are already suffering much from the ambitious attempts of artisans to enter the province of artists. Destitute of the suggestions of a master, our common architects and gardeners too often mistake artifice for art, and with the greatest expenses attain the most questionable excellencies.

Another impression, that should be made more permanent and effective among the people, is the practicability of applying the general principles of these arts, in those domains that are exclusively each man's own. It is not altogether to the purpose, to read to our rural population quarterly criticisms on the works of the great masters; to seek to transform the aspect of a village in the interior by distributing descriptions of the York Minster, or biographies of Sir Christopher Wren, leaving the matter to rest there. Precisely what may be done by common men now is not always inferred at once, from what genius has done in other times and elsewhere. That there should be enkindled a deeper admiration for every sublime creation of art is indeed one of our first wants — that men should be smitten and awed by the impersonation, in mute marble and on pictured canvass, of all solemn emotions; that even in noisy places those pleading images of spiritual reality should have

power to win the multitude, and hush them as in the presence of a sanctuary. But to secure the end now held in view, more than this is necessary, a less labor but a farther one. The soul is not only to be touched in the moment of musing, but each man is to become conscious of a power to reproduce, in some form, however humble, the idea that first inspired the eloquent pencil or chisel. In most of the fine arts there will be no true work resulting; that man is no artist, is the best explanation of the fact yet offered — even his idea is most dim and vague. But in those more practical departments of the great Whole of Art we are considering, it is the prerogative of the individual to do more than admire and remember. Grant him something that he may call home, and he may do more than carry thither vanishing recollections of the cottage he has seen in wandering, with its green lawn, its winding paths with trellised arbors thrown over them, its parterres yielding all the flowers, and its shady retreats where the August breeze but never the August sun can come. For he may, if he will, in a degree we say not how inferior, by processes we say not how gradual, in hours saved we say not with how much self-denial, create about himself some satisfying likeness to the little Eden he has seen. Then the ideal in his mind is not completed by a mere observation of actual objects. The conception of a possible perfection unattained is as essential an element in a creative effort, as the knowledge of imperfection existing. In one object is discovered a perfect feature surrounded with blemishes; in another object a new beauty and a new deficiency; in others still other scattered traces of a complete harmony; but from the source within are drawn portions of the ideal of which no transcript is found without.

These, then, are the general positions we have aimed to state, and in few words, to illustrate. The artistical spirit, in its higher manifestations, must be found connected with few minds, and there must be a more perfect artistical culture, and a profounder reverence for art's true creations, before the tastes of the people can safely be moulded even after our best models. In the mean time every intelligent member of society is so far capable of being a student of nature, of himself, and of such specimens as he may know, that he may form and embody, in the arts of gardening and architecture especially, some pure ideal of his own; and his first danger lies in deserting nature, or that uncorrupted art which is the child of nature, for

false and meagre imitations. But we are too long delaying our purpose to speak more particularly of the popular introduction of these arts, with the hope that some minds may consent to the reasonableness of new study and exertion.

Gardening, as one of the fine arts, differs a little, in the variety of degrees of excellence it admits in the execution, from most of the sisterhood. This springs partly from the immense diversity in the extent to which, in any individual instance, it may be exercised. A pleasing effect may be secured within an enclosure of three rods' diameter; and, within the given limits, the work is faultless. Besides, it cannot be claimed for gardening that it is capable, in any remarkable degree, though it certainly is, in a general sense, of what is called expression. And from this cause it admits a comparatively easy execution. Its province is rather to present agreeable assemblages, than to effect an entire unity of impression. Taken in a wide sense it may be called the art of improving and ornamenting natural scenes. Its general principles are commonly agreed by the writers who differ often in other respects, the two Masons, Repton, Whateley, Pope, and Loudon, to be the study and display of natural beauties; the concealment of defects; and what is of equal importance with the others, as a constant guide, never to lose sight of common sense.

Introducing man so immediately to his better self, and to the mysteries of the great world of which the eye and the ear take cognizance, it is not singular that this has been one of the favorite occupations of the most refined minds. Scholars have pronounced it the choice of philosophers and the inclination of princes; philosophers have declared it the only art that has never been perverted, and princes have affirmed from experience that the love of it is the only passion that augments with age. It was in gardens that the contemplation of Grecian sages awaited and witnessed the unfolding of lofty truths. Athenian wisdom chose them as fit temples wherein to impress her serious lessons. The mythologists testified to the congeniality of the same art with the best feelings, by assigning its processes to their most faultless deities. Lord Bacon calls it "the purest of human pleasures, the greatest refreshment to the spirits of man."

Allusion has been made already to the value that would attach to an innocent, rational species of popular recreation. It is a thank-worthy task to provide a gain-loving people with

simple amusements. Not quite all the purposes of life may, with impunity, be made subservient to eager money-getting, any more than to indolent satiety. There are recreations that have more even than harmlessness to recommend them; that constitute as essential portions of our history as the seasons of business, and do as much in developing harmoniously the whole moral being. They belong to tradesman and student, mechanic and man of letters. Left to the dictation of caprice or accident, they will tend to habits of listlessness and ennui, perhaps to criminality and folly. Now we cannot help asking ourselves, if there are not modes of relieving, and renewing the exhausted energies and worn spirits of higher claims than that of mere negative guiltlessness; if there are not pleasures for those months that are the intervals of toil, those hours that are left from the day's engrossments, which will accomplish more than animal satisfaction, leaving the whole character less narrow, more generous and sincere. For the larger portion of all orders in society, precisely such pleasures exist. The air, the earth, and the clouds work together to produce them. Diffuse the love of what the planted soil will yield, and the change has been made. The sickly appetite for sentimental dramas, from unheard of authors, by ranting actors and silly actresses, might disappear. Brothers and fathers would find other resorts than the race-course and billiard-room. There would be felt, for the first time, in a thousand hearts the peaceful enjoyments of an attractive home. The village girl, that watches and arranges, in the sweet sunny air of a summer morning, those plants by the window, that love and care have made companions, numbering all their opening buds, might doubtless be bending an aching head over the confused catastrophe of a preposterous fiction. She knows more than her wiser sisters, who pride themselves because the world cannot take them by surprise. The miserable search for artificial amusements has been too long. The mistake has given us degenerate theatricals, or rather it has left them to us not yet purified nor elevated. It has provided us with dioramas and panoramas, with caged monsters and vaulting buffoons, with men and women obese and emaciated, with specimens of our common humanity remarkably overgrown, and remarkably undergrown, and remarkably like skeletons, and, in a word, with an endless series of painful burlesques upon decent and congruous things, which all sight-seers are bound to run after and

gape at. They empty their pockets for the privilege of beholding distortions and imitations, overlooking the true and costless original. They turn their backs upon the glorious pageantry of an autumnal night-fall, when they are alone with it upon the mountain-top, to be enraptured in some crammed apartment, at a sunset of lamp-light and screens. We most unfortunately misjudge, if we believe nature has no better things to offer us than these.

Through the interest it inspires in all natural objects, gardening brings a blessing to every considerable class of the people. Says Sir William Temple, "it is an employment and a possession for which no man is too low nor too high." It softens the asperities and rusticities contracted by hard-handed husbandmen in the rougher enterprises of their calling. It disperses the mannerism and ridiculous affectations of those who move where the forms of etiquette are made to pass for the reality, which they should only indicate and recommend. Then, if we regard the loftier departments of intellectual action, this interest in nature, of which we speak, holds the same prominent position. Simply under its power the best successes have been sometimes reached. Such was the origin of that solid rural architecture that commemorates the time of Numa. The biography of artists would tell of more than one child of human solitude, whose early and abiding lessons have been from no human lips; who has mused, till the fire burned, on the forest-tree's proportions; who has striven from the plain materials he could gather to mingle colors as beautiful as those the leaf was touched with; who has written on the face of the rock the outlines of some familiar peak, and has thus learned that he held relations of which the common world could tell him nothing. Who can say how much Poussin was indebted to the rural scenes round Piroli, or Salvator Rosa to the wooded and varied surface of Calabria? Simple and divine thoughts were born, not in a Tyre or a Carthage, but in the time of patriarchs, beneath palmtrees, by fountains, among the dwellers in tents.

The moral effects, however, of the study of rural beauty give it its chief dignity. These are attainable by the multitude, not of authors, but of men and women. They are not the less real because indirect. One of the first recommendations of such study is, that it creates a feeling fundamental not only in religious, but in social and political prosperity, the love of home. The binding associations of a dwelling and grounds

neatly adorned by the work of one's own hands, by the shrubbery that has grown up under one's own training, *locate* men. They are first made domestic, contented, and industrious, and hence increase their independence and sense of responsibility. The great proportion of crimes in this country will be found to be committed by the floating, homeless population, always the most insubordinate. A genuine love of home, we believe, would be the best security against the host of evils engendered by discontent and consequent recklessness. Much can be done to infuse these pure tastes among laborers and tenants by the more cultivated order, and especially by landed proprietors. The truth contained in the remark of Madame De Staël, that "the luxury of wonders always implies a love of the country," and of Herder, that "no people can have a national poetry, that has not objects of pride and gratulation, in which all have a community of interest," should teach philanthropists, political economists, and the advocates of a pure literature, that the bonds between the soil and its inhabitant cannot easily become too firm. Culture and care are the first means of cementing the union. It is a beautiful harmony that belongs to hearts.

"True to the kindred points of heaven and home."

"I pity that man," exclaims an English poet, with reference to this subject, "who has completed everything in his garden."

Doubtless these tastes are capable of perversion, or rather we ought to say, corrupt minds will pervert the objects on which they are exercised. We do not forget the voluptuous worship of Aserah in the seraglios of the old Jewish kings, nor the abuses of Cleopatra and Nero, the former of whom caused the floor of the apartment in which her entertainments were given to be strewn with roses to the depth of a cubit, while the latter expended thirty thousand pounds on the roses that adorned a single supper. Indeed, at one period the Romans found it necessary to suppress the passion for flowers by sumptuary laws. But neither our national temperament nor position exposes us to such excesses. The danger here lies in another direction. We are not arguing that all lovers of flowers are of course the friends of virtue; that one need but take any sinner enslaved to any business, and lead him into a conservatory, to convict him of all his folly and transform him into a seeker of righteousness. Can we not safely say, that a genuine love of natural beauty deepens, without assuming

that it implants, moral sensibilities, that it lays one under new persuasives to a holy life? In the language of one who has given time, reflection, and travel to the rural and agricultural interests of our community, "the taste for flowers every where increasing among us is an omen for good. Let us adorn with them our parlors, door ways, yards, and roadsides. The moral influences of such embellishments deserve our serious consideration."* We may yet come to realize, if we will, what among the ancients was a superstition and a fable, that bundles of flowers will preserve the wearer from the fumes of dissipations, refresh the thinking faculties, and keep the affections always young.

> "Thanks to the human heart by which we live,
> Thanks to its tenderness, its joys and fears,
> To *all*, the meanest flower that blows can give
> Thoughts that do often lie too deep for tears."

In the practical science of Gardening the first point for deliberation is the selection of a site. It is sufficient to remind those who are making the choice, that the position of those regions, which all antiquity conceded to be the source of the noblest fruits and of unequalled plants,—Media and Persia,—was on fertile plains, gently declining towards the south, protected by mountain-ranges on the north, and intersected and irrigated by frequent streams. These may safely be taken as models, whether our plats are measured in square feet or acres. In most cases an aspect more northern would not be positively objectionable. Provided the limits will permit, a variety will of course be secured, and a consequent continuance of bloom beyond that allowed by a single exposure. The Romans in this whole matter of location were extremely fastidious. What shall we, who often place our gardens not only out of sight, but behind the stable-yard, because there perhaps is a patch of unappropriated soil, think of the enthusiasm of Pliny, who was so passionately fond of his gardens at the Villa Laurentina, that he contrived to see some part of them from every apartment in the buildings, even while he was bathing and when he reclined; for his couch was so placed as to give one view at the head, another at the foot, and another at the

* Henry Colman, whose Agricultural Addresses we have already noticed in our pages, (page 128 of present vol.) They merit the attention of the most general reader.

back. "If you have a country-seat left you by an ancestor," said Varro, "in an ill air or upon an ill soil, sell it and buy another; sell it though you receive but a fourth part of its value; sell it for anything rather than live upon it."

A capital error of Americans is the neglect of arboriculture in connexion with floriculture. There has been only one attempt at what is technically called an arboretum, this side the seas; and ordinary residences are most shamefully naked. Foliage produced here with the greatest ease is despised, because our territory is just cleared from a wilderness. A barren is not merely left, but often actually created in the immediate vicinity of houses, which, at a little distance, are surrounded by luxuriant verdure. Dwelling-places, instead of enhancing, rather interrupt the general beauty of the scenery. They are invasions, not improvements, on the original freshness of the spot. We are far enough from catching the animated admiration of Wordsworth, when he is describing those "pastoral farms," near Tintern Abbey, that are "green to the very door." We affect the more artificial, glaring forms. Hence, to a traveller, the wooded intervals between New England villages are often more agreeable than the villages themselves. If the new settler on the frontier is absolutely compelled to make the pathway leading to his door, to lie among blackened cinders and scorched herbage, let not us, in the name of all that is decent, grow contented with misfortunes that necessity forces him to endure. While the English have introduced, within a century, thirteen or fourteen hundred foreign species of forest trees among their native growth, we have been laying our uplands open to the sweeps of winds, the wear of waters, the blaze of the sun, robbing at once the soil of its fertility, the climate of its salubrity, and the sense of beauty of its ennobling gratification. We shall yet find ourselves emulating the Irish nobility, whose "mansion and park" are sometimes found to amount to a naked house, in a naked grass field surrounded by a stone wall. The leisure moments of a few spring mornings devoted to the transplanting of trees, indigenous and exotic, were most humanely spent, whether one would inhale the fragrance of their blossoms, refresh himself by their shade, taste the fruit of their boughs, or listen to the bird's voices, "that sing among the branches." Those moments would carry grateful blessings, beyond the narrow circle of selfish interests, to children and successors. The plainest dwelling brown and

mossy, if it have old elms waving over it, and clambering honeysuckles about its windows, is venerable and homelike. The prim, upright affair, that breaks all alone the monotony of a sandy level, looks impertinent and stiff with its paints, mahogany, and window-blinds. As soon as possible too, we hope we shall exchange some of our fences of bare white rails, for hedges of the various thorns, or at least cover them with holly and juniper.

The size of gardens will of course vary with fortune and opportunity. Sir William Temple recommends to English noblemen from four to eight acres. These dimensions would include the artificial heath, for which some of the British gardeners have a decided fancy. With us, rural gardens in most cases can hardly exceed one or two acres, often but a single rood, and sometimes but a few rods. It is only to be remembered that when the extent is limited, the form should be somewhat regular, and have as few lines of circumference as may be. Squares are better than polygons, and perhaps ovals better than squares, though on this point opinions differ. If the eye takes in the whole outline at one view, the boundary should be such as to satisfy. A larger enclosure where the sight ranges indefinitely, will admit a more irregular shape. If we adopt, as is most probable, the smaller style, we have before us the fine examples of Antwerp, Amsterdam, and Brussels. Now, however, when the cities of the New World are young, and the towns of the interior not densely occupied, is a time more favorable than any later period can be, for making liberal appropriations of land for public purposes. The subject of figure and boundary just referred to merits especial study. Easy, graceful, flowing lines, are among the most essential elements of a beautiful landscape. We have seen two contrasted representations of a country residence, in both of which the general features are the same. In one, however, the stiff, angular avenue and awkward fences make the whole piece dry and harsh. In the other, the curved walks and corresponding disposition of shrubbery give an air of neatness and elegance. The change itself from the first to the last is slight; the effect is wholly of an opposite kind.

When time shall have advanced this art, in both its æsthetical and mechanical departments, it will be early enough to look for some of the more difficult and expensive embellishments. At present we do not expect coral-covered grottoes, winter

alcoves, Chinese cottages, the kiosques of Kew, nor the obelisks of Blenheim and Castle Howard. The humble instruments, which we wish to see more universally and skilfully used, are the turf-raser, the grafting-knife, and the pruning-shears. By combining tolerably the functions of architect and nurseryman simple structures will easily be erected, — roofed seats of hazel rods with columns of spruce, fir, and mountain ash. Unsightly rough walls, and other deformities will be concealed by rock works, or by spray and trellis work overhung with climbers and twining plants. Other refinements will follow, though we shall for a long time be distanced by the Europeans in the construction of transparencies, fountains, and vegetable sculptures. Of this last there is a curious instance in the garden of the convent of Madre di Dio, near Savonna. It is a group representing the flight of Joseph into Egypt, — in yellow box, variegated holly, myrtle, cyprus, laurel, and rosemary.

There will be danger, however, to the true interests of landscape-gardening, if an ambitious desire shall spring up to excel in the striking and fantastical. This is always a weak point in half-cultivated tastes. Indeed, many of those designs are at best doubtful. They require the exercise of the nicest discrimination, or they are worse than unsuccessful, and become positively ludicrous. Milton knew, if any man, what a garden ought to be; and he significantly asserts that "curious knots" made no part of the perfections of his Paradise. Bacon does not seem to have been inveigled into much admiration for charms of this sort. "As for the making of knots and figures," he says, "with divers colored earths, they be but toys; you may see as good sights many times in tarts. I for my part do not like images cut out in juniper or other garden stuff; they be for children." Attempts at the artificial arrangement of flowering plants in clumps and belts are sometimes not without an agreeable effect; as in Ware-park, where the different tinctures and seasons were so precisely marked, that the inmost of those blossoming at the same time should be darker than the outmost, and the whole exhibit a perfect shading.

The introduction of statues and busts of whatever materials, to any considerable extent, is also liable to objections. Among aspirants for classical connoisseurship this passion often rages violently; they are uneasy till they find themselves surrounded with

> "Homer, Plutarch, and Nebuchadnezzar,
> All standing naked, in the open air."

But obviously, superior works in statuary are seldom to be obtained. And the use of imperfect productions, by common uneducated sculptors, would be a measure to be emphatically deprecated among a people, where, as here, Art is in its forming period. Nor do the conditions of our climate give us reason to sigh after Turkish boudoirs, Spanish cascades, and Indian shades. Coolness of atmosphere is not so rare a luxury as to require much attention to jets d'eau, and those other devices on which the orientals, the Italians, and Spaniards expend their first efforts.

Some of the authors of the best opportunities for observation suppose, that the climates and soils, most favorable for the culture of plants and fruits, are those where the least care and taste are actually displayed. If this be so, it only furnishes grounds for mortification. Abused privileges are worse than natural disadvantages. The general facilities of air, earth, and water we certainly share in common and equally with others in the same wide latitudes. With such broad territory and diversified soils it is difficult to believe, that this country may not, by due perseverance, yet rival the various departments of floriculture in the old world — the tulips of Holland and Spitalfields, the carnations of Norwich, the roses of Pæstum, the combined excellencies of Lancashire, all the pinks of Paisley and Glasgow, and even the hyacinths of the East. Nearly the same thing may be asserted with regard to shade-trees. We make no boasts of the future. We only urge our obligations to exertion. In New England it is a favorable circumstance, that picturesque beauty may be made a primal object, while in the Southern States, as in Southern Europe, the qualities most sought must be coolness and repose. A greenness of turf, too, is obtainable at the North, which the intensity of the heat renders almost impossible under the tropics. It often quickens the activity of the favored to observe the conquests of the unfortunate over difficulty. The newspapers tell us that at the Rock of Rabaçal, in the island of Madeira, the Portuguese have lately cut an aqueduct along the face of the perpendicular stone precipice, eight hundred feet from its base and two hundred feet from the top, to arrest the cascade in its tremendous plunge, and convey it a long distance to irrigate their districts. Besides, other countries, like Italy, are obliged to depend much in these matters on the favor of silly princes and an ignorant nobility.

Here, no patronage is waited for but individual competence; no reward is asked but the public approval. When there shall be no deficiency in the private gardens of laborers and men of leisure, metropolitan and commercial horticulture will soon take its proper rank.

Abundant encouragement to those, whose progress has yet but begun, may be gathered from the history of horticultural pursuits wherever they have been undertaken with spirit. Once commenced, they generally grow in the public favor with rapidity. Ignorance of their whole nature, of the availableness of old necessary means, with the indifference that prevails of course where actual experiments are hardly commenced, — these are the most common and most efficient foes of the art. In the year 1760 there were not more than six nurseries in Scotland, occupying about sixty or seventy acres. In 1812 one mercantile house shipped for foreign ports more than two millions of seedlings. In the vicinity of London, according to an estimate made a few years since, within ten miles' circuit there are thirteen hundred acres of land devoted to shrubbery and flowers, and twice as many to productions for the table. The first public botanical garden in Europe was commenced by Cosmo De Medici in Pisa, in the year 1543, and in 1591 the number of new plants was so great that a second enclosure was laid out to contain them. Among ourselves, indeed, within a very short period, roses have increased from a very limited number of species to more than five hundred.

We have all along spoken of Gardening and Rural Architecture, without distinguishing very definitely in our remarks between them, because we have wished to allude to some principles that govern the progress and the details of both. As nations approach to elegance, it is said, men learn to build stately sooner than to garden finely, and thence it has been inferred that gardening is the more difficult art. The real cause for the fact, so far as the fact exists, is, undoubtedly, that Gardening requires a more fixed, tranquil state of society, less engrossing occupation with political transactions. All civilized nations regard their edifices as immediately connected with their national glory. The most artificial, therefore, with ambition for a prompter, excel there. It certainly is not singular, that an honorable pride should enter into the feeling with which each householder regards his own mansion, — the retreat where the happiest and often

the best portions of his life are passed, the scene of his reflections, his love and his hospitality, his own private realm. The only wonder is that without any additional advantage, or any diminution of expense, violations of good keeping should be as frequent as they are. There may be, no doubt, excellent reasons drawn from some one of the three cardinal rules of the old authors "Commoditie, Firmness, and Delight" — for selecting, as a site, a dyke in the middle of a marsh, rather than a green elevation by the side of a leaping water-fall; for divesting of its metaphorical meaning the strong trope of the Florentine Architect, when he described certain structures placed in "standing pools of air," by more than realizing the image of building in standing pools of water. As to "Commoditie," such a choice would clearly obviate the inconvenience of a laborious ascent in the approach; and in favor of "Firmness," it could safely be argued, that there would be comparatively slight danger of sudden demolition from those frightful gales, which upon eminences are confessedly possible. But in the third essential, we are afraid we shall be at fault in making out so plausible a case. Strenuous advocates may enter the abused plea of "De gustibus." Equally probable is it, that a defence may be found for those extravagant inventions "without any authenticke paterne" wherein disproportion and fillagree predominate; structures, large or small, made up of half a dozen shapeless blocks, of different ages, huddled shapelessly together, barely fortified with dropsical pillars, and argus-eyed, for the multitude of their windows. This habit of building houses at successive decades, story by story, and wing by wing, as an enlarging business furnishes the enstalments, and an enlarging family the necessity, conduces much more to keeping alive the spirit of private enterprise, than of rural elegance. Were it not better to be content in the merest cot, be it never so rustic, till fortune should vouchsafe a more sure earnest of her favor, and then to erect something a little permanent and satisfying. Sometimes, owing to a freak of that benefactress, or to a destruction of the proper ratio between the increase of dividends and the increase of descendents, these super and circum-additions exhibit an unhappy curtailment of splendor; so that these strange conglomerations remind one of the objects presented to the eye of an oriental traveller, where the half-barbarous inhabitants have built, against the remains of the magnificent piles of antiquity, squalid hovels of mud. There

is one custom prevalent in New England villages, though it is by no means confined to New England nor to this continent, for which we have never been able to account to ourselves satisfactorily; and we dare say others have passed through exercises of ingenuity similar to our own, to as little purpose. In the broad and blessed *country*, where the open fields stretch away unbroken for miles, from street to street, the builders of habitations, that are to be their own homes and their children's homes, crowd those habitations into such remarkable proximity to the beaten highway, that there shall be no grass-blade, bush, hedge, or window, but it shall be amply replenished, and daily, with dust or mud; and that the voices of vociferating and the glances of impertinent passers-by shall also find their way within the precincts of the domestic fireside.

To the question of practicability, so naturally suggested by the discussion of subjects like this, we believe we are not inattentive. We do not expect all the farmers, mechanics, and tradesmen among us to be made capable of appreciating or following the higher rules of architecture, or the other beautiful arts. But we do claim for all of them a capacity to detect falsities and to improve defects, a faculty altogether more accurate and more improvable, than seems generally to be supposed. We have full faith that moments otherwise wasted, if given to observation of natural forms, reflection on their imitable beauties, and acquaintance with the simpler principles of artistical labor, might work a change in the external aspect of our rural districts, that would compensate for much greater endeavors. Masters must first come; they will come when there shall be a preparation for them, and a voice calling them. First the soul's importunate craving after that which the beautiful only can minister, then, its sure satisfaction. Titian, Raphael, and Corregio were not the only students in their three cities. Not only studios but streets held throngs of living, admiring, enthusiastic disciples. The multitude who bore in their breasts the feeling that gave those mighty ones birth passed away. They, the few, were not born to die. Genius does not offer her life-like creations to the world, till there is a great universal mind that may be quickened and inspired. It is but a sorry apology for a people to offer for its want of taste that it has no artists. It is said that the change for which we plead is one which cannot be effected without imprudent pecuniary outlays, — outlays inconsistent with the conditions of that large body of the peo-

ple for whom we write. Before this objection is pressed, we respectfully solicit a thorough and candid consideration of the nature of the arts under discussion, in their practical details, and a just comparison of the expenditures they involve, with those actually made in the temporary expedients, the tinselled embellishments, and the awkward attempts that now stand in our way. Whatever would be wanting on our side of the account we would supply by the curtailment of hollow, fashionable customs, foolish indulgences, idle dissipations. Besides, we confess, we do not feel much sympathy with the spirit of the demurrer. The lurking *eye for the main chance* is under it. Our progress in art reminds one of the practice of the Illyrian minstrels, who, when they have sung half their ballad, stop short, take off their hats, and insist on the collection, without trusting to the accidental liberality of the charmed listeners. The establishment of a gallery of paintings is proposed as a public enterprise, in a commercial metropolis. The first question agitated is whether the proposed undertaking will thicken the crowd that visits the marts of business, whether it will heighten the mercantile prospects of that city and pour wealth into its avenues. And on the answer that shall be given, will it depend whether or not the project shall be suffered to glide fairly out of the public mind, and ever after be carefully precluded from the public notice. Without doubt the statement is too unqualified to apply to any city among us. But it represents a great evil in our social tendencies, — the same which Dewey evidently has in his view when he declares, he "would rather that one silent, calm picture of martyr-like heroism sunk into the public heart, than to know of some agitating speculation which had put a million of gold into the public coffer."

The cultivation of a purer taste in the Fine Arts has a connection more intimate, than any yet alluded to, with religious feeling. Without conceding anything to mere sentimentalism, we assume that there are certain associations in the minds of the people with their sanctuaries of worship, that are salutary aids to virtue. It is not probable that in this age these associations will become so fixed or so engrossing, as to endanger either the progress or the spirituality of our religion. We are in little peril of repeating the errors of the the time of Guercino, and making our Christian art again sacerdotal and dogmatical. The foolish extravagancies of the Catholic mystical schools need be feared no longer. It was natural that at the first as-

cendancy of Protestantism a singular epoch should occur in the history of æsthetics. The propriety of church ornamenting was of course made a matter of grave doubt by the good reformers. In their horror of Popish image-worship they fled to shapeless buildings with bare walls, and were horror-struck at the pictured presence of a martyr. They would have felt, if transported to the interior of the Sistine Chapel, as if they stood in the very midst of those dark "chambers of imagery," that the Prophet saw, on whose walls were portrayed the abominations of the seventy ancients of Israel. This feeling could only pass away, when the immediate reaction was succeeded by a more large and liberal view of that entire system of Faith, of which so great a proportion was empty ritual. Then we should expect it to be discovered, that a proper attention to sacred edifices, and a proper use of some of the outward emblems would not be fatal to soul-worship. Ours not being the age of Faith but of inquiry, of skepticism, and of mechanism, we cannot look for the erection of cathedrals. But we do anticipate, from the generous appreciation among us of all the means in all sects for developing the whole nature of man, a freedom from the weak prejudices that surround this subject also. The worship, we are told, the worship of the spirit is what men require, and compared with this the place and the form are nothing. The soul may commune with its source, as well under the open sky as beneath the roof of a costly edifice. And, indeed, we ourselves should account it a misery, did not we ourselves believe that there is a worship which the soul offers, when it is touched by the breathing voice of woods and streams, as true as is often known within imprisoning walls; that holiness is often taught by the ministrations of God's own open day and silent night, with their splendors and mysteries, such as the feeble human voice can hardly teach; that there is no censer's breath like the mountain-airs, and no arch like Heaven's. But then nature will not always admit us to her sanctuaries; and so long as we build with our own hands, let us build so as to approach as nearly as we may to the perfections of her greater temple. The place has its influence. And if the services of our religion have power to touch and impress anywhere, this furnishes no reason for leaving churches ugly and repulsive, but rather for so simply adorning and tastefully proportioning them, that they may aid the devotion that can never be too deep. Let us, if we take away the crucifix

and the images, leave, at least, the oak and the hawthorne. Let us lay our granite hills under contribution for materials and our forests for shade trees, that we may join dignity and beauty with sanctity. Associations cluster round objects that are permanent. Why might we not build our country churches more generally of stone? We have heard of parishes that actually make it their rule to select, as sites for their churches, schoolhouses, and all public structures whatever, not as might be supposed the most quiet and lovely spots, where the gentlest influences from without might mingle with the spoken utterances of wisdom, but on the contrary in some bare field, or on some dusty corner, because the place is fit for nothing else. On the whole, is there even a well founded objection to adorning the places of prayer, and of the eloquent preaching of the word, with the speaking forms of those holy men who have lived for their race and died rejoicing, with the impersonation of just and disinterested affections, with the sublime ideals that among successive nations have been the measures of the soul's capacity for truth and goodness? One would suppose, that heavenly wisdom might sometimes come as purely from the objects over which Genius has waved its wand and breathed its inspiration, as from a weak, dull reader of weaker and duller homilies. To us of modern days, art might thus come, in some measure, to realize the purpose of those temples in the age of Constantine, which had scriptures written in Mosaic all over their walls.

We cannot forbear to mention here the rapid progress that is making in the musical tastes of the people. It constitutes one of the most interesting features of modern educational movements, that such prominence is begining to be given to this softening and humanizing study of music, — music, which, as observes Rousseau, "paints all pictures, expresses all emotions, represents all objects, and subjects all nature to her skilful imitations." If every village among us may not become a Salsburg, a Bonn, a Rohrau or a Halle, and give us each a Mozart, a Beethoven, a Haydn, and a Handel, yet every village and every cottage may produce respectable performers of the works of those great composers. It is not to be forgotten that it was in a singing school for the lower orders in a church of one of the cities of Germany, that the heart was opened, the taste formed, the mind moulded, of Hans Sachs, from whose humble workshop at the gates of Nuremburg afterwards

proceeded the words and the harmonies, that were heard through all the broad land, and that did so much to prepare men for the new era that came with Luther.

We began with apology. Before we close we must be permitted a word of congratulation and hope. We have spoken of our popular tastes too generally, perhaps, in the language of complaint and censure. It has been because it is usually more profitable to seek out deficiencies than to glory in achievements; and because it is less disagreeable to be the discoverers of our own errors, even if we exaggerate their importance, than to wait till our neighbors thrust them upon our notice. We know full well that our transatlantic brethren are prompt and faithful in the fraternal duty of admonition. But after all, we are not inclined to suppose that our case is absolutely hopeless; that we are to be finally exiled, like Raphael's Adam and Eve, from the whole Paradise of Beauty, and only permitted to look tremblingly back upon the cherub's sword. If names not dishonorable be required, we can unblushingly repeat those of which the world is not ashamed. With the higher and more natural social condition, and the new religious culture, which the years will open upon us, will come also new demonstrations of the progressiveness of art.

Meantime, in the departments we have been considering, enough has been done to satisfy us how much may yet be accomplished by even moderate efforts in the right spirit. A steady increase of interest in the public exhibitions of plants and flowers is observable. Both in Boston and Philadelphia, the two principal seats of horticultural enterprise in the United States, practical experimenters and able writers have attracted the attention of the community, and carried the art beyond the feeble and precarious period of infancy.

Several towns have been especially happy and successful in selecting and laying out places of public and private burial. Already the cemeteries of Mt. Auburn, Greenwood, Mt. Hope, and Harmony Grove, have become the abode of living beauty, as well as the home of a multitude of the lamented dead. There is something touching and healing in that gentle office which art performs, when she comes and writes commemorative words, as unaffected as the sighs that the mourner heaves among the groves that God hath planted. Our rural villages will yet imitate this example of crowded cities.

The magazine of which the title is prefixed to these pages

is well deserving of patronage. It has already been favorably judged by competent critics, by the community at large. Its circulation should be increased, not only because it is the only periodical of the kind published in America, but on account of its intrinsic merits. Its articles are furnished by the ablest writers on the subjects which it treats.

F. D. H.

Méthode de Vocalisation, en deux parties, par Auguste Panseron, Professeur de Chant au Conservatoire, &c. &c. Paris. 4to. pp. 216.

It is remarkable, that while in some countries of Europe so much attention has been given to the general diffusion of early musical instruction, and its good influences have been so long perceived, it should have until very recently been so much neglected in France and Great Britain. Within a very short time, however, it has been attempted in Paris and London, and vocal music is now taught in many of the national and other schools, and the results are stated to be highly satisfactory.* Several years ago, from the representations of those who had had an opportunity of witnessing the happy effects in Germany, and their persevering exertions, aided by those of a few lovers of music, the introduction of vocal music into some of our own schools was attempted, and the experiment has been crowned with success. The English musical publications have from time to time contained notices of what was doing in this country, and we have reason to think that they have had some influence in awakening attention to this pleasing and useful branch of early instruction, at least in London. The best results have already become evident, and among them has lately been noticed the more general and increased attention to the services of the church. This is now stated to be such in

* "Singing is now taught in Paris, in 52 schools, on the method of mutual instruction, 21 schools directed by the Frères de la Doctrine Chritiènne, and 12 evening schools, for adults. These comprise together upwards of 1500 adult scholars and 5000 children."— For. Quart. Rev. July, 1841.

London, that many of the churches, which before were thinly attended, are crowded on the Sabbath, and on the week days the audiences are large; the consequence, as is maintained, of an improved style of singing and chanting, and of an increased ability to appreciate and enjoy good music. That there has been a great change and improvement, that the public taste and love of music have been remarkably developed, not only in England and France but in our own country, within a very few years, is evinced by the fact, that while the theatres are deserted, or abandoned to musical entertainments, vast halls are crowded by all orders of people, listening with profound attention to the sublime compositions of Handel, Beethoven, and other great masters.

We have alluded to the increased attendance upon the services of the church, as attributed in part to the influence of music; and although we would hope for a higher and better motive, we are not disposed to reject or despise this. We had almost said we would despise none; we will not quarrel with the motive, provided it be innocent; for we are confident that the increased attendance upon the services of the sanctuary must eventually rescue many from the haunts of idleness and vice, and that of the numbers, who may be drawn within the sacred precincts by an inferior motive, some, if not many, will return from a holier influence. Religion and good order, domestic happiness, temperance, and all the better impulses and affections have, in a correct and well regulated musical taste, no feeble auxiliary and safeguard. Viewed merely as a blameless popular amusement, music cannot be too generally cultivated and diffused, and provided for the enjoyment of all classes. Where cheap musical entertainments are accessible crowds are attracted, of which a large proportion would otherwise pass their leisure hours in low and licentious amusements, or resort to the haunts of idleness and the schools of crime. It is with no little pleasure then, that we witness the encouraging results of the efforts in our country to bring into action this powerful instrument of order, peace, and religion.

While we are fully sensible of the great and general improvement, which has taken place in the performance both of vocal and instrumental music in New England, and perceive so many indications of better taste, and of a capability of enjoying and appreciating classical music, we cannot but regret the prevalence yet of many sins against good taste in our choirs.

There are still many things to be corrected, and much to be acquired for the right performance of church music, which cannot be attained, we fear, in the schools. Too much is, by many persons, expected from the system of early musical instruction, and too many, we apprehend, will be satisfied with the very elementary knowledge of the art which must there be acquired, and not be sufficiently aware that excellence can only be arrived at by assiduous private study and practice.

We are inclined to think that many persons labor under the mistaken notion, that the art of singing can be acquired by practice with many voices. That much may be done we admit, and that very pleasing results may be brought about; but whenever indications of superior capacity, and the power of arriving at great excellence are observable in an individual, he should early be made sensible of the absolute necessity of laying a more solid foundation, and of advancing slowly and thoroughly by private practice. This too must be done under a thoroughly qualified teacher, and the selection of such should be most carefully made. The ability of imparting a knowledge of musical notes, of time, and the mere mechanics of the art is not sufficient. The teacher should be a man of cultivated intellect, of taste, and refinement, not less alive to the beauties of the poet than to those of the composer. Deficiencies in either cannot be compensated by the greatest skill in execution, or the most profound musical learning. By the persevering exertions of the Boston Academy, and of the Handel and Haydn Society, much has been already effected in providing sound teachers; and ere long their labors will, we doubt not, be properly appreciated by an intelligent community.

There are few persons but must observe the great changes that have already taken place in the style of vocal music in this part of our country, both in the church and in the concert room, to say nothing of private singing. There has been a corresponding change in the taste of the hearers; and both audiences and performers have received no little benefit from the opportunities of listening to so many of the eminent foreign artistes who have of late visited us. Not very many years have elapsed since it was rare to meet with persons, (who had not been abroad,) who were prepared to enjoy the beauties of Mozart or Haydn. Indeed the performance of some of the symphonies of the latter by the old Philharmonic Society in Boston was deemed quite a musical feat. What would have been done

with Beethoven, it is not difficult to conjecture; the works of this mighty genius would have been deemed not only the ebullitions of insanity, but as altogether beyond the powers of any performers. There was no want of natural susceptibility to the charms of music, but a deficiency in the early and judicious cultivation of the ear and taste. Many of us must recollect with what astonishment we once listened to the outpourings of a powerful Soprano in "Sound the trumpet of fame," and "Let the bright Seraphim," with an obligato trumpet accompaniment by a leathern-lunged amateur, when it was difficult to say which excelled in noise, and according to the taste of the time, in giving most pleasure to the audience. If any of our readers were so fortunate as to hear the accompaniment to Luther's magnificent hymn, (we complain only of the stage trick of concealing the performer,) when recently sung by Braham, let them endeavor to realize the difference in style and expression, and still more in the thrilling effects of that sublime composition upon the hundreds that were present; — how many would have tolerated the performance, had it been in the manner before spoken of?

We might give many similar instances, that show how great has been our improvement in musical taste and in the style of performance within but a few years; but we are still far from perfection; and in some of our sister cities there have been alarming symptoms of decline from even this imperfect state, as when we learn, for instance, that an attempt was made to improve upon Haydn by the sudden burst of gas light, at the splendid passage in the Creation, "Let there be light;" and that so gross and disgusting a stage trick was not only tolerated but applauded! We have no fears, however, that the brilliant success of this novel accompaniment will lead to its adoption either by the Boston Academy or Handel and Haydn Society. The efforts of these two musical institutions in Boston during the last winter, and the numbers that for so many evenings filled the various concerts, afforded ample evidence that our people are alive to the beauties of orchestral, as well as of vocal music of the highest order, and by the close of another season we may be prepared to enjoy the 9th symphony of Beethoven. For the performance of a fine piece of music we are not now as dependent as formerly on professional aid, the number of able and accomplished amateurs who can sustain a part in a quartette, or a symphony, who can delight

us with the vocal solo, duet, or chorus, is also now large, and increasing. The day is gone by when the young man, who devoted a leisure hour to the cultivation of music, was deemed an idler. We have discovered that the Germans can boast of great men and powerful minds, and learned critics, although so much time and attention are bestowed by them upon this delightful accomplishment. We would here take occasion to urge upon our young men the practice upon a greater variety of instruments; the flute, a poor instrument at best, but easy and portable, is too much resorted to, and occupies time and attention, which would give no contemptible degree of skill on instruments of far more importance. Until within a few years, the Piano Forte has been too much resigned to the ladies, the violin, the most expressive of all instruments, has been left to the rude fingers and ruder taste of the dictator of the ball-room; the rich and expressive violoncello has been confounded with the "bass viol" of the scraper of the village choir; and the clarionet, so rich and effective, implores in wailing tones to be rescued from the barber's shop.

The advancement of music will, we have no doubt, be greatly promoted by the careful study of the work of Weber, of which we had occasion to speak in a late number, and of vocal music in particular by that of M. Panseron. We would suggest to the translator of the former the performance of a similar labor upon the latter. Before the publication of Weber's treatise there was not one that comprised complete and unobjectionable directions for the proper development and cultivation of the voice to its highest degree of excellence and finish. The treatises on vocal music, which have been in use with us, have been reprints of incomplete English instruction books, or compilations prepared with reference, for the most part, to common psalmody, and aiming at little beyond the powers of the most humble musical capacity. Nor were we in general fully aware of the vast improvement of which the voice is susceptible, and of the wonderful effects which it can be made to produce by judicious training, until the opportunities were enjoyed of listening to so many eminent foreign vocalists. The conviction was then forced upon the community, that a thorough system of instruction, something more than a quarter's attendance upon a singing school, is required to make a singer. Hundreds of persons, who were before ignorant of the truly wonderful capabilities of the human voice, were not only astonished but

delighted at the ease with which the most difficult passages were executed, and touched by the pathos and expression that threw new and unlooked for beauties over even the simplest and most hackneyed compositions. The nasal twang, the drawling tone, the piercing scream, have lost much of their charms; and the village choirs have begun to perceive that the loudest singer is not always the best, and moreover that exactness in time and tune is not always compatible with the expression of the beauties of the poetry, or the intelligible delivery of the words.

So important do we esteem the vocal music of our churches, we would have it brought to the highest perfection, in that severe, simple style, which harmonizes with the place and the occasion. We would have no embellishments or artificial additions; but purity and correct intonation are indispensable requisites, and can only be attained and fixed by patient and assiduous private practice. The ear must be brought to appreciate every deviation from perfect intonation, and the voice be trained to execute with precision and certainty both alone and in concert. The prevalent system, or rather want of system in our common singing schools will not accomplish this; all sorts of bad habits are too often acquired in them; the pupils are not sufficiently drilled upon exercises, but very early put upon tunes, which renders them still less willing to submit to the only certain and safe method of arriving at even tolerable proficiency. But we did not intend to write an essay on Church Music, and must proceed to notice M. Panseron's work, which is more particularly designed for those who would acquire a thorough command of the voice, and the ability to execute the most difficult compositions, while at the same time the singer, who aims at nothing beyond the simple ballad, will find in it remarks and exercises of great utility and value.

Of the merits of this work we have abundant testimony from several eminent European composers, and vocalists of great eminence, whose letters are prefixed to it. It appears to have been examined by the celebrated Cherubini; and we perceive that it has been adopted for the use of the classes of the Royal Conservatory of Music in France, under the direction of M. Fetis, and by the Conservatory at Brussels. The recommendations of Meyerbeer, Lablache, Damoreau Cinti, and others are well merited, as we have satisfied ourselves by a careful inspection and trial of many of the exercises. Of these and

scales the first part contains one hundred and twenty-five, admirably calculated to give ease and flexibility of voice and correct intonation. This part will be found particularly useful to beginners, who cannot avail themselves of the aid of a teacher. The second part contains forty exercises, progressively arranged, from the most simple to those embracing all the difficulties of vocal execution.

If we regard the voice merely as an object of curiosity, we find it not less interesting than wonderful. Its variety in men and animals, its infinite shades, its capability of expressing, and of exciting; the influence upon it of climate and constitution, of age and sex, of heat and cold, of health and disease, and of many causes that modify and vary its powers and effects, have rendered it of the deepest interest to the naturalist, the physiologist, the philosopher, and to every reflecting mind. It is an instrument of the utmost delicacy, and will not bear to be treated with rudeness or severity; its powers must be slowly and carefully developed and strengthened, and this can often be carried, under a proper system of training, far beyond all anticipation. But we repeat, all advances must be slow and cautious, and its exercise must never, especially in early life, be continued to the point of fatigue. There are examples daily presenting themselves to our notice, where a fine voice has been more or less injured, and not unfrequently ruined, by improper use, from ignorance of its physiology, and by absurd methods of practice under ignorant or incapable teachers. Parents are too often careless in the selection of teachers of music, while they are exceedingly cautious in the selection of dancing masters, far too ready to entrust their children to a singing master, merely for the reason that he has for the time become the teacher of some frivolous but fashionable aspirants to musical fame.

We were much pleased to see that in the work before us M. Panseron has not overlooked several important points in regard to the physiology of the voice, and would urge not only upon pupils and teachers, but upon parents also, a careful perusal of his remarks.

It is a common observation, that good voices are more rarely met with in this and some other countries, than in the South of Europe. That there is much truth in this cannot be denied; but we believe the deficiency is in a great part also owing to the imperfect systems of instruction and the impatience of parents

and pupils. Still there is an obvious and remarkable influence upon the human voice, that must be attributed to climate and habits of life. The mild and beautiful climate of the South, and the cold and stern skies of the North, seem to be not less influential upon the moral and physical energies of man, than upon the quality and powers of his voice. To the variable and piercing effects of our climate must be in part attributed the poverty of our voices, and it is certain that the gifted daughters of Italy, who have occasionally visited us, have felt the necessity for every precaution to retain the delicacy and sweetness of their voices unimpaired during their residence among us. But, although nature has not been liberal to us in this respect, she has not put it out of our power greatly to improve the rough material, and in aid of this we can safely recommend the "Methode" of M. Panseron.

So important do we conceive some knowledge of the structure and uses of the parts concerned in the production or emission of the voice, both to singers and public speakers, that we will here mention a few of the results of the investigations of physiologists and anatomists who have examined the vocal organs, and some of the precautions to be taken for the improvement and preservation of the voice. The principal parts concerned in the production of the voice may be said to be contained in a kind of box, of a peculiar form and of a peculiar material, or cartilaginous substance. This box communicates with the lungs, with the mouth, and with the nose. It can be raised or lowered by the action of certain muscles. It is furnished on the inside with two bundles of elastic and parallel strings, or fibres, called the vocal ligaments or chords. Between these is the entrance to the wind-pipe, called the glottis. It is a narrow slit, and can be enlarged, contracted, or entirely closed. All the mysterious and magical effects of the voice are effected by the passage of air through this box, which is technically called the larynx. As the chords are put in motion, made to vibrate, by the passage of the air, sounds are produced. These sounds, according to some physiologists, are acute or grave, as the sides of the box are approximated or separated. But others conceive the size of the aperture to have no effect upon the pitch of the voice; they attribute any variations in it to the state of tension, and the frequency of the vibrations of the vocal chords.

The theory of the voice is still obscure; that of the celebrated

Magendie is perhaps as satisfactory as any. He supposes that the air from the lungs passes at first into a tube of considerable size, but the subsequent contraction of the tube, and the passage of the air through a narrow slit between vibrating plates, which allow of or intercept the passage of the air, like the reed of a clarionet or oboe, produces the sonorous undulations of the aërial current. By various experiments, such as openings made below the larynx, or the division of nerves that are connected with it, it has been proved that the voice is destroyed; and by mechanically closing the opening the voice has been restored. Magendie relates the case of a man who had an opening in the larynx, produced by disease, and who was unable to speak, unless he wore a tight cravat, which closed or covered the opening. The effect upon the voice of various diseases, to which these parts are liable, cannot but cause in us surprise that it should so often escape injury. By injudicious treatment, or the mistake of a medical practitioner, instances have ocurred where the voice has been destroyed, so far as its musical powers are concerned. Of this one of the most memorable examples was the celebrated vocalist Madame Fodor, who lost her voice when in its greatest perfection, by the mistake of her physician as to the nature of an affection of her throat.

By injudicious practice, by too loud or too long continued singing, by exertions to reach a high note, as well as by disease, and even very slight causes, may the voice be irreparably impaired or even destroyed.

The action of the parts, more immediately concerned in producing vocal sounds, is connected intimately with that of the muscles concerned in respiration; and whatever interferes with their freedom, tight lacing for example, has an injurious effect. So also all diseases of the organs of respiration, and certain states of the system, affect the vocal organs; and their use at such times also aggravates the disease. It is no unusual occurrence for young persons to be affected with headaches, giddiness, shortness of breath, and general debility, all of which are associated with morbid or impaired action of the muscles and organs connected with the function of respiration. The process by which the blood is rendered fit for its various offices is more or less interrupted by many affections of the system, by the state of the digestive organs, and by peculiar derangements attending certain periods of life. At such times, and under

such circumstances, the vocal organs should not be called into frequent or protracted exercise, and nothing should be permitted to interfere with the function of respiration. While the organs of voice are in that peculiar state of action, into which they are brought in singing, the respiration is interrupted and to a certain degree unnatural; and the passage of the blood through the lungs, where it has to undergo an important change, is more or less retarded, and injurious consequences ensue. Nor should the peculiar change, that the human system undergoes in an early period of life, be disregarded in the cultivation and preservation of the voice; the vocal organs should then be used with great caution. Many a fine voice has been destroyed, and probably, too, the general health been impaired, by inattention to, or ignorance on this point. Much as we are pleased with the introduction of singing into our public schools, we cannot but apprehend some danger from inattention to this circumstance, and would caution our teachers not to overlook it.

Upon the several topics, to which we have thus briefly alluded, M. Panseron has dwelt at length in the introduction to his work. He then proceeds to speak of the qualities required in a good singer, and the means of acquiring correct vocalization, of sustaining tones, managing the breath, &c. The importance of vocalization, has been too little attended to by our singers. It should not only be the first step, but should be continued during the whole musical career. By it is meant the singing upon one vowel alone, with distinct articulation, equable and without grimace, and without stirring the tongue or the chin during the emission of the sound. The note should be attacked with precision, and without sliding the voice on to it from the preceding note. This can only be attained by great and persevering daily practice with perfect equality, in all the scales. It is only by this kind of practice that purity of tone is to be acquired and preserved, and the respiration and the union of the different parts, or registers as they are called, of the voice, be kept under control. It is this which must be resorted to, and this only can form the voice for good execution. When firmness and evenness of tone have been acquired, the student may proceed to increase and diminish each tone, "*filer les sons,*" and may then be gradually carried forward to the exercises. These are furnished in the work before us with easy and sim-

ple accompaniment, which is far more judicious than to burthen the pupil with a difficult piano forte part, while his attention is especially required to the vocal exercise. In looking over these exercises we find them such as will impart a knowledge of different styles of music, but in this they are not so varied as in the work of Garaudè, yet probably sufficiently so for most performers. Pupils are too often satisfied with an occasional practice of a few easy scales, and in haste to take up songs; and if they contain some common place cadence, or a run of half a dozen notes, they deem them equally good exercises as any in the books. Now this is one of the greatest and most injurious errors, not only of pupils, but too often of teachers; it is, no doubt, too, quite as often owing to the impatience of parents, themselves ignorant of music and of the only true method of acquiring it. It will be from the results of the persevering study of such a work as that of M. Panseron, continued for two or three years, that we are to look for the correction of this. After a few pupils have shown what can be accomplished by such a course of exercises, will the lovers of music perceive how imperfect have been all other methods. If a pupil has been gifted with a naturally fine voice, and has cultivated and improved it on this system, the time and labor which have been bestowed will be found not to have been lost, and little will afterward be needed for mastering the most difficult compositions.

But the facility of singing scales and exercises is not all which is to be gained by the course we have indicated. The pupil will find in this work highly judicious remarks on expression, the soul of music, and by carefully observing all the directions of the author will be led to a perception of the coloring, so to speak, of every variety of vocal composition, and almost imperceptibly arrive at the highest degree of finish in his or her performances. Arrived at this point, but not before, the vocalist may venture upon the study of arias, cavatinas, and the more difficult compositions. To attempt the execution of such works, before a firm foundation is laid, is utterly destructive of good singing; and yet it is a very prevalent error, as music has hitherto been taught and practised with us. Nor is it less a mistake, in our opinion, to suppose that the art of singing can be acquired by practice with many voices, as in our "singing schools." Every pupil should be trained alone, at least until perfect in vocalization. It cannot be too often

repeated nor too strongly enforced, that good vocalization is the principal foundation of good singing, and that without it a good voice cannot be formed, nor the defects of a poor one remedied. The voice must be brought early under control, and be put down upon every note purely, firmly, distinctly, and with ease. All this may be done without effort, roughness, or violence, without diminution of sweetness and liquidity of tone; and until it can be done, the pupil should undertake little else than vocal exercises.

Every lover of music must perceive with satisfaction the dawnings of improvement in the methods of instruction, which have resulted from the efforts of the Boston Academy and of the Handel and Haydn Society, the conventions of teachers, and the unwearied exertions of a few highly qualified professors. Their labors are beginning to be properly appreciated, our people are becoming more sensible of the defects of old systems, and more so of the charms and beneficial influences of a refined and classical style, both in composition and in performance. The thanks of the community are especially due to the institutions, which have brought before us so many instrumental and vocal performers of high excellence, whose admirable performances so forcibly illustrated the importance of early and thorough instruction, and of subsequent assiduous and careful practice.

Many opportunities have been afforded of listening to compositions and performances in the various styles of the musical art, but it is to be feared that the sterling gold has not always been distinguished from the base metal and tinsel. There is no music probably which has drawn down louder applause than that of the Italian school, and although there is much in it that is beautiful and enduring, it abounds in great deformities, to which too many are blinded by the glare and glitter with which they are surrounded. We would have our amateurs and musical students fully aware of this, and trust that they will be led by their own improved taste, or by that of their teachers, to shun the absurdities and eccentricities, the tricks and puerilities, by which so much of modern music is disfigured.

That modern Italian music has done much to vitiate the public taste in Europe, is generally acknowledged. In vocal music especially, extraordinary powers have called for compositions calculated expressly for their display; the great singers have been led on from one difficulty to another, until the public is not to be satisfied without feats of agility, and a rapidity of

execution, that rivals the notes of a Paganini; chaste and touching and simple melodies are almost banished from the theatre, and concert room; while in private, abortive attempts must be made by feeble and ill-trained voices to equal the extravagancies of the opera. Although, within certain limits, these innovations have given a brilliancy, richness, and variety to vocal performances, they have led to the neglect of the true and expressive music of the old masters, whose sterling beauties are lost in the glitter of the new school. Rossini, Bellini, Pacini, Mercadante, Donizetti, and others have given us much that is beautiful, but much that is trashy also, between which too few are able to discriminate. It is too often a sufficient recommendation to the notice of our amateur performers, that a composition bears the name of one of these fashionable composers, and time and talent are wasted in learning what is soon to be thrown aside. It is the very compositions of this school, that are especially calculated to exhibit the defects of the prevalent system of musical education. They have in general been written for artists of great talent, whose powers of voice and incessant practice have given them extraordinary powers of execution. In the hands of half-taught amateurs they become positively disgusting. Even with an acquired taste for such compositions, they have no charms when accompanied by imperfect intonation, laborious imitation, and a total deficiency of feeling and expression; they can only be given with effect by voices of uncommon quality, and which have been brought to the highest pitch of excellence under a course of early instruction and study, which few among us are able or willing to submit to.

It is not in the power of every one, who has a voice, to sing in various styles; rarely do we meet with a union of all the necessary qualities in the same individual. If every singer would endeavor to confine him or herself to the style of performance for which nature has bestowed the requisite qualifications, and not attempt anything beyond the natural or acquired powers, we should seldom have cause to complain of the crude efforts of our amateurs. We have already said that the natural powers are susceptible of great improvement by art, or the careful study of works like that of M. Panseron; but it should be added that the kind of voice the pupil possesses should first be carefully ascertained. This is what is understood by the *register* of the voice, and this is too often entirely overlooked.

Nature gives the rough material, but it must be polished and perfected by art; and the able teacher will quickly perceive the beauty that may be developed by judicious cultivation. There is great danger that a beginner will mistake his or her true register, and fix an incorrect intonation, a nasal tone, or a throat voice, with short or painful respiration. Many a good voice has been thus spoiled, and not unfrequently from the selection of incompetent teachers. The mistakes and carelessness of parents in the musical education of children are perfectly incomprehensible; they seek for the best teachers in all the other branches, scrutinize their acquirements and qualifications, while in this they are too often utterly indifferent. Teachers of music are daily springing up, who are destitute of almost every qualification for this important duty, and who satisfy their consciences if their pupils are taught to imitate them, like so many parrots.

There is a broad, majestic, simple, energetic, and expressive style of singing, which the Italians have termed the *cantabile*, in which our singers are sadly deficient, which we would have them labor to acquire; it is in truth the touchstone of a singer. It was beautifully exhibited in Madame Caradori. It requires an entire command of the breath, perfect intonation, the power of sustaining, increasing, and diminishing each note to the utmost degree of fineness, soft and sweet expression, delicate portamento, and a deep feeling of the sentiment. These are the good qualities of the *good* Italian school, which are now rare even in Europe, or lost in the meretricious glare of the present degenerate school. Too many modern singers have a set of insignificant turns, or touches, which they tack on to every song, good or bad; their forcible inspirations are mistaken for expression, their portamentos are prolonged, like the mewings of a cat, and these are their accents of expression, and this is the so called *cantabile* style of the present day, as too genrally understood. In the works of Panseron and Garaudè will be found abundant examples of the true cantabile, which can be safely and strongly recommended to the careful study of our fair vocalists.

The cultivation of Italian music is often objected to by persons who are not familiar with the language. But it is so peculiarly well adapted to the conveyance of musical sounds and expression, that no one can often listen to the arias and cavatinas of the great masters, without soon perceiving that the ex-

quisite beauties of the music amply compensate for ignorance of the language. While listening to the musical sounds and phrases, we soon become indifferent to the words of the poet; we give to them a meaning of our own. Ideas and feelings are awakened which may be widely different from those which the words would excite, and which in most cases are far more interesting and delightful than if we comprehended every word that was uttered. The greater number of Italian songs and vocal compositions, with the exception of the operas of Metastasio and one or two others, are but the canvass, as it were, upon which the lyrical and musical ideas are depicted — each suggests to the singer a peculiar expression, but when taken together are but a repetition of the same ideas without plan or interest to the hearer. The poet is an absolute nullity, sacrificed to the soul and voice of the singer.

It cannot be denied that, although to ninety-nine in every hundred, Italian may be as unintelligible as Greek or Chinese, Italian vocal music has effected a revolution in musical taste and style, which, if we are on our guard not to be led away and mistake its defects and redundancies for beauties, must have a happy influence upon the art among ourselves. But to produce its full effect, it must be studied and taught in the thorough manner we have indicated in what we have already said, and with the aid of thoroughly educated and cultivated teachers.

We cannot close our notice of M. Panseron's work, without cautioning our musical friends to shun the *spurious*, modern Italian style, which may please for a time, and may be attractive in the concert room in the hands of a skilful performer, but which cannot endure. Let them carefully distinguish the compositions of the great masters of the true cantabile style, and cultivate that alone, for that is the only true Italian school — the school of Mozart and Cimarosa, of Cherubini and occasionally of Bellini.

The visit of the "first tenor in Europe," as Braham was many years ago styled, while it has afforded us, at times, great pleasure, has awakened the fear that our young vocalists, unless more alive to his defects, than there is reason to suppose them to be, will be led astray by his great beauties. From the indiscriminate praise which has too often been given to his performances, those who are not well grounded in their musical education, or whose judgment has not been formed upon good.

models, may not be alive to his frequent sins against good taste, to which he was led by his once unrivalled powers. With occasional exceptions, his is the *degenerate* Italian school. But while we caution against his faults, we would strongly urge the study of his masterly conception of his author, his indications of power and expression. The observation of the effect which may be given to music by a thorough artist, even if sometimes extravagant, must have a beneficial influence.

We cannot close without expressing our conviction, that the musical public are under great obligations to the several musical societies for bringing before us the two great models, Caradori and Braham, and would take this occasion to suggest to them that they will undoubtedly find it for their interest, as well as for the improvement of our musical taste, to make such overtures to other eminent European artists, as will induce them to visit us the ensuing season.

W.

ART. V. — *A Discourse on the Transient and Permanent in Christianity;* preached at the ordination of Mr. Charles C. Shackford, in the Hawes Place Church in Boston, May 19, 1841. By THEODORE PARKER, Minister of the Second Church in Roxbury. 8vo. pp. 48. Boston: Printed for the Author. 1841.

THIS sermon has been the subject of so much newspaper discussion, and has so largely occupied the attention of the religious public, that we should hardly be excusable, were we to pass it by in silence. It also claims our notice, as the recognised exponent of a distinct system of theology or philosophy, which, by the high intellectual culture and moral worth of its disciples, if not by their number, challenges a careful and respectful criticism. Unfortunately for the reviewer, the author of this discourse has taken the liberty usually, though wrongfully conceded to him who writes a sermon, of writing illogically. It is therefore often difficult to determine what sentiments he means to convey. His propositions cover much more ground than his proofs. His premises fall very far within his conclusions. Sweeping general statements, which seem altogether to

set aside the historical and authoritative element in Christianity, he sustains and illustrates by specifications, which need not alarm the most bigoted conservative. We make these remarks at the outset, because we mean to be fair, and if we misrepresent Mr. Parker's sentiments, we believe that it will be owing to his having set forth in a popular and diffuse form, ideas, which, to guard against misconception, demanded a peculiarly strict logical exhibition and development.

Mr. Parker was singularly unhappy in the choice of a text. He takes for his text the declaration of Jesus, "Heaven and earth shall pass away; but my words shall not pass away." Now it so happens, that the "words," to which Jesus here refers, are his predictions concerning the fate of Jerusalem and the Jews, — words appertaining to that scaffolding of miracle and prophecy, which, according to the preacher, has no permanent validity or worth, — words, therefore, which passed away almost as soon as they were uttered.

We are perplexed in our attempt to grasp the general doctrine of the sermon, by the vague use which is made of the term Christianity. On one page, we are invited to "consider what is *Transient* in Christianity, and what is *Permanent* therein," and then on another, we are told that "looking at the Word of Jesus, at real Christianity, the pure religion he taught, nothing appears more fixed and certain." But though "the Word of Jesus" is thus set forth as identical with "real Christianity," we are afterwards assured, that, could it be proved "that the gospels were the fabrication of designing and artful men, that Jesus of Nazareth never lived, still Christianity would stand firm, and fear no evil;" and yet, in another connexion, the union of "the Godlike and the Human," in Jesus, is spoken of as "the brightest revelation of what is possible for all men." But it is hard to say how Christianity could have stood firm, and yet "the brightest revelation" connected with it have perished; and we exceedingly doubt the propriety, nay, the consistency with common sense of giving the name of Christianity to that, which is so entirely independent of Christ, as to stand equally well without him.

Mr. Parker enumerates first among the transient elements of Christianity religious forms, of which it is not so much as hinted that any were instituted or sanctioned by the great Author and Finisher of our faith. "In our calculating nation," says the preacher, "in our rationalizing sect, we have

retained but two of the rites so numerous in the early Christian church;" but surely Mr. Parker is too well versed in Christian antiquity, not to know that these are the only two distinctive rites, that can be traced in the very *earliest* records of the church, and that these are retained not by any fortuitous or arbitrary selection, but because one is supposed to have been instituted, and the other appropriated by Jesus himself. "Whether *the Apostles* designed these rites to be perpetual, seems a question which belongs to scholars and antiquarians, not to us, as Christian men and women." Very true. But it does concern us, as Christian men and women, to know whether *Jesus Christ* intended that bread should be broken, and the wine-cup poured through all time after his own example, and in memory of him. It does concern us, as Christian men and women, to know whether *Jesus Christ* designed for a perpetual initiatory rite that symbolic washing of water, through which he bade his apostles receive men into their fellowship.

After some general and on the whole just remarks concerning the changeableness of theological doctrines from age to age, Mr. Parker selects two from "many instances," in illustration of "this transitoriness of doctrines." "First, the doctrine respecting the origin and authority of the Old and New Testament." The Old Testament is first spoken of; and so lamentable are the evils, that have flowed from a belief in its infallible inspiration, "that it makes one weep to think of the follies deduced therefrom"! *Præcipe lugubres cantus, Melpomene.* These authors in fact, "had only that inspiration which is common to other men equally pious and wise." But widely and sadly different has been the general faith of the Christian church. "The most distant events, even such as are still in the arms of time, were supposed to be clearly foreseen and foretold by pious Hebrews several centuries before Christ. It has been *assumed* at the outset, *with no shadow of evidence*, that those writers held a miraculous communication with God, such as he has granted to no other man." We are amazed at the rashness of this assertion. What? Has it been *with no shadow of evidence*, that the church universal have believed in the spirit of prophecy? Have the vast labors, which have been expended by so many of the choicest minds of our race upon the visions of Isaiah and of Daniel, upon the divine mission of Moses, and the higher than human

origin of the Jewish law, amounted to no more than baseless *assumption?* Did JESUS *assume at the outset without a shadow of evidence*, that the Scriptures testified of himself, that things were written concerning him "in the Law, and in the Psalms, and in the Prophets?" For it surely will not be pretended that those old writers knew intuitively that Jesus would come, or that they could have had any knowledge of him, except by "miraculous communication with God." Is it modest, is it ingenuous to treat alleged fulfilments of prophecy, which so many generations of holy men have regarded as the pillar and groundwork of the faith, as if they were the mere day-dreams of irresponsible fanatics? For ourselves, we have not yet come out of the darkness. We are still so superstitious as to suppose ourselves reading of the veritable Jesus of Nazareth in books written centuries before he was born; nay, we have sometimes imagined that we could select and arrange a *gospel according to the prophets*, which should agree marvellously with the narratives of Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John. We have also read with awe-stricken reverence the numerous traces of accomplished prophecy, which have been disinterred by recent travellers in the East, — the undesigned coincidences between the narratives of tourists, who had no religious theory to support, and the visions of the old Hebrew seers concerning the self-same scenes. Nor have we deemed it less than the "shadow of an evidence" in behalf of the inspiration of those same old seers, that they should have written out so clearly the unprecedented fates of the Jewish people for all coming times, — that they should have portrayed in terms as accurate, as if they had been writing history, the present condition of that anomaly among the nations, that people scattered, but not divided, broken, but not lost, like the bush on Horeb, ever burning, but unconsumed, bearing about in every land the judgments of the Almighty.

But "this idolatry of the Old Testament did not always exist. Jesus says that none born of a woman is greater than John the Baptist, yet the least in the kingdom of heaven was greater than John." That our blessed Saviour was chargeable with *idolatry* of any kind we no more believe than Mr. Parker. But the bearing, which his opinion of John the Baptist has upon his recognition or non-recognition of the peculiar inspiration of the writers of the Old Testament, we confess ourselves unable to discern. However, were we to press this

declaration of Jesus into the controversy, it would certainly be on the more orthodox side of the question. For if John, who was in outward appearance a mere unnurtured Jewish Eremite, was superior or equal to the wisest and best of his own and of all past times, we might fairly infer that he derived his culture from a higher than human source, either by immediate inspiration from God, or by the divine word recorded in those Jewish Scriptures, which he had known from infancy. Nor does the declared inferiority of John to the least of Christ's true disciples militate with any theory of inspiration, that has been maintained by Christians; for it has never been pretended that the Old Testament contained a revelation of spiritual truth so clear, entire, and comprehensive, as is afforded in the New. But, whether a supernatural character did, or did not, actually belong to the Jewish history and writings, we had supposed that there was no doubt about our Saviour's recognition of both prophecy and miracle. We had thought, that the only question was, whether he was mistaken or not. The instances are very numerous, in which he cites predictions as real, and refers to miracles as having actually occurred; nay, he founds one of his most solemn and impressive arguments for man's immortality on the ineffably sublime description by Moses, of that scene in the burning bush on Horeb, which Mr. Parker quotes as among the ridiculous absurdities of the Old Testament.

Paul is also cited as friendly to the less exalted views of the Old Testament, which his Master is said to have held. For "Paul tells us the Law — the very crown of the old Hebrew revelation — is a shadow of good things, which have now come, only a schoolmaster to bring us to Christ." But no Christian ever maintained more than this concerning the Law. The extreme of credulity of the most unscrupulous believer has gone no farther than to trace in the details of the Mosaic Law types or *shadows* of the good things, which were to come through Christ; nor was the Mosaic dispensation ever pretended by those Christians, who have regarded it with the most profound reverence, to be anything more than a *schoolmaster*, — an initiatory and temporary system. But Mr. Parker cannot assuredly mean to endorse St. Paul's description of the Law as a *schoolmaster;* for on another page, we find the following remarks concerning the Old Testament, (and most of them referring to the Pentateuch, or express record of the *Law,*) — remarks, which, if just, would make the Law such a school-

master, as mankind had much better been without. "On the authority of the written Word, man was taught to believe impossible legends, conflicting assertions; to take fiction for fact; a dream for a miraculous revelation of God; an oriental poem for a grave history of miraculous events; a collection of amatory idyls for a serious discourse touching the mutual love of Christ and the Church; they have been taught to accept a picture sketched by some glowing eastern imagination, never intended to be taken for a reality, as a proof that the Infinite God spoke in human words, appeared in the shape of a cloud, a flaming bush, or a man who ate and drank, and vanished into smoke; that he gave counsels to-day, and the opposite to-morrow; that he violated his own laws, was angry, and was only dissuaded by a mortal man from destroying at once a whole nation — millions of men who rebelled against their leader in a moment of anguish." A record, to which such language as this is applicable, could not have been "a schoolmaster to bring men to Christ," unless it were to the Christ of this sermon, who might as well have never lived, so far as the stability of his religion is concerned. St. Paul, it will be remembered, in employing the *law* as a *schoolmaster* to bring men to Christ, dwells much and often on Abraham's obedience to the divine command to offer up Isaac, as a specimen of the kind of faith which should be found in the true Christian. But of this narrative, we are told that "matters have come to such a pass, that, even now, he is deemed an infidel, if not by implication an atheist, whose reverence for the Most High forbids him to believe that God commanded Abraham to sacrifice his son, a thought at which the flesh creeps with horror; to believe it solely on the authority of an oriental story, written down nobody knows when, or by whom, or for what purpose; which may be a poem, but cannot be the record of a fact, unless God is the author of confusion and a lie." With regard to this and the like, we might well quote one of Mr. Parker's own questions and answers. "If Paul could read this, would he accept it as his teaching? Never till the letters of Paul had faded out of his memory." Mr. Parker may be in the right; but it would be a mere waste of words to show how utterly opposed to each other he and St. Paul are, as regards their views of the Old Testament. The veriest tyro in the Scriptures knows how full Paul's epistles are of the most express recognitions of both the prophecies and the miraculous narrations of the Hebrew Scriptures.

"The history of opinions on the New Testament is quite similar. It has been assumed at the outset, it would seem with no sufficient reason, without the smallest pretence on the writers' part, that all of its authors were infallibly and miraculously inspired, so that they could commit no error of doctrine or fact. Men have been bidden to close their eyes at the obvious difference between Luke and John; the serious disagreement between Paul and Peter; to believe, on the smallest evidence, accounts which shock the moral sense and revolt the reason, and tend to place Jesus in the same series with Hercules and Apollonius of Tyana; accounts which Paul in the Epistles never mentions, though he also had a vein of the miraculous running quite through him." There are, we confess, some things in this passage hard to be understood. What is the so "obvious difference between Luke and John?" Is it in their style? Or in the aspect, in which they viewed our Saviour's character, the one historically, the other, to a great degree dogmatically? Or is it in the one's dwelling principally upon scenes and events in Galilee, while the other seldom goes out of Jerusalem and its vicinity? These differences do not touch even the most extravagant theory of verbal inspiration; for, if God inspired two men to write each a memoir of Jesus, we should expect to find the two not one and the same memoir, but each presenting its own peculiar aspect of his character and position of his life. But other discrepancies than these we are not aware that objectors trace or pretend between these two evangelists. "The serious disagreement between Paul and Peter" has no place or meaning in this connexion. There is, we believe, no alleged discrepancy between their respective writings, nor yet between their respective views of doctrine and duty, as recorded in the Acts of the Apostles. Their "disagreement" grew out of a moral delinquency on Peter's part in a matter, in which Peter and Paul were agreed in theory; but Peter played the time-server, while Paul followed his convictions of duty. It has, therefore, no bearing on the question of their inspiration, unless it be pretended, (as it has never been within our knowledge,) that every inspired man must needs be morally perfect. We have nothing to say concerning the "accounts which shock the moral sense and revolt the reason;" for to confess the truth, we know not what they are, — we have never met with anything of the kind in the New Testament; and we have always supposed that the

pure of heart and the sound of intellect in general found less fault with these writings, than men of a contrary character. The libertine Paine professed to find impurity in the gospels; but such men as Leighton and Fenelon have made the scriptures their daily food for life, without seeing anything in them to offend a "moral sense" of singular quickness and delicacy. That professed prince of sophists, Voltaire, used to find irrational things in the New Testament, but we do not remember that Locke, or Butler, or any of the master-thinkers of modern times, have discovered aught to "revolt the reason." But we are perhaps using terms without understanding them. We did know once what the *moral sense* and the *reason* were; but they are changed of late. We were told the other day of a young man, whose *moral sense* would not let him go to church very often, because the prayers and the preaching were cold and technical, but who was a constant attendant upon the dancing of Fanny Elssler. We have heard too, that *reason* does not now denote the power of reaching just conclusions from given premises, but the faculty, which instinctively jumps at a conclusion, before it has a view of the premises.

In the paragraph from which the above extract is taken, the integrity of the canon of Scripture is incidentally assailed. "*All the books which caprice or accident had brought together between the lids of the Bible*, were declared to be the infallible word of God, the only certain rule of religious faith and practice." We have no space for the defence of the canon, which would demand a separate article, but it has been demonstrated too often to need a repetition of the arguments for any professed theologian, that the books, now "between the lids of the Bible," (whatever may be thought of their inspiration,) are not between those lids by "caprice or accident," but that the books of each covenant, with only one or two cases open to slight doubt, are grouped together, and are separated from all other books by decisive marks, which make them the symbolic books of the Jewish and Christian religion respectively.

"But the current notions respecting the infallible inspiration of the Bible have no foundation in the Bible itself. Which Evangelist, which Apostle of the New Testament, what Prophet or Psalmist of the Old Testament, ever claims infallible authority for himself or others?" We are not aware that the words *infallible authority*, or their Greek or Hebrew sy-

nonymes, occur in the Scriptures. But the prophets certainly profess to write what God said to them, and describe with some minuteness the time when, and the circumstances under which such and such divine communications were made to them; and for whatever they represent God to have said, they must needs claim "infallible authority," unless they differed from Mr. Parker in believing that "God can be the author of a lie." St. Peter claims, as we think, something more than the inspiration common to all men for the Hebrew prophets, when he says, "The prophecy came not in old time by the will of man; but holy men of God spake as they were moved by the Holy Spirit." Jesus is represented as having made to his apostles certain promises, which, as recorded by John, are an express claim in his own behalf and in that of his fellow-apostles to "infallible authority" in all things appertaining to his Master's life and religion. "The Comforter, . . he shall teach you all things, and bring all things to your remembrance, whatsoever I have said unto you." "He will guide you into all truth." "He will show you things to come." We might multiply quotations, had we room; but we have said enough to answer Mr. Parker's question.

"Another instance of the transitoriness of doctrines, taught as Christian, is found in those which relate to the nature and authority of Christ." — p. 24.

"Almost every sect, that has ever been, makes Christianity rest on the personal authority of Jesus, and not the immutable truth of the doctrines themselves, or the authority of God, who sent him into the world. Yet it seems difficult to conceive any reason why moral and religious truths should rest for their support on the personal authority of their revealer, any more than the truths of science on that of him who makes them known first or most clearly. It is hard to see why the great truths of Christianity rest on the personal authority of Jesus, more than the axioms of geometry rest on the personal authority of Euclid or Archimedes. The authority of Jesus, as of all teachers, one would naturally think, must rest upon the truth of his words, and not their truth on his authority." — pp. 24, 25.

We are not aware that any sect of Christians rest their faith "on the personal authority of Jesus," and not on "the authority of God, who sent him into the world." Jesus is believed, because he came not in his own name, but in his Father's. "If I bear witness of myself," he says, "my witness is not

true." "The works that the Father hath given me to finish bear witness of me, that the Father hath sent me."

But the real question is not, whether truth is to be received on the authority of God or on that of Jesus. It is, whether truth is to be taken on any authority higher or other than our own. That this is the great question at issue, Mr. Parker implies in the illustration drawn from mathematical science, and in his placing the authority of Jesus in the same category with that "of all teachers." We receive the axioms of geometry on our own authority, because we see them to be true. We receive what human teachers in general tell us, on our own authority, either because their statements accord with our own previous convictions, or because their arguments commend themselves to our reason Are the teachings of Jesus, so far as we receive them, to be received on this ground, or does Jesus speak with an authority which should outweigh our impulses, set aside our preconceived opinions, and convince us where we cannot trace every step of the argument?

In answering this question, we are first called upon to establish the possibility of man's receiving truth, except through his own intuitions; for even this is denied. There must needs be truth, to which man's intuitions do not reach. If there be a God, there must be more in his mind than in any finite mind. God is in all things, and all things are in him; therefore he must discern intuitively whatever is. The laws and relations of all beings, the proportions and limits of all truth, are a part of his own mind, and thus the subjects of his own self-consciousness. To him all truth is absolute and necessary, — growing out of his own attributes, — the expression of himself. Not so with man. He is conscious only of the phenomena of his own inward being, — of his own capacities, tendencies, volitions, and emotions. Truths relating to his own isolated self are the only truths that he can know intuitively. He is conscious of those parts of his nature which fit him for intercourse with other beings; but he must learn from without the existence and relations of those beings. He is conscious of a tendency to worship; but this tendency does not define to his mind the attributes of God. He is conscious of a capacity for social duty and happiness; but this capacity gives him no absolute knowledge of the origin, the rights, or the destiny of his fellow-men. His intuitions cannot look into the mind of God, — cannot read the heart of man. The individual's con-

sciousness is also limited as to time. God is conscious of the future; for it already exists in his mind. Man can be conscious only of the present, and retrospectively of the past. With regard to what is to come, he may desire, hope, reason, plan, but the accumulated wisdom of ages has not impaired the truth of Solomon's assertion, that man knows not what shall be on the morrow. It is impossible that man should be conscious of a future, which he has not full and underived power to realize. But must this limitation of man's consciousness necessarily cut off all objective knowledge of the future, of the Creator, and of his fellow-spirits; and leave him on these subjects to such inferences as he might draw from his own tendencies and desires? Not by any means. As well might we deny the possibility of our receiving knowledge in those departments of natural history and of geography, to which our own observation has not extended. We do believe many things of which we have neither experience nor consciousness. We believe that there is such a city as Pekin, and that there are reindeer in Lapland, and yet these are facts out of the range of our intuitions. Moreover, we not only receive on authority numberless items of belief which we cannot discern intuitively, but we recognise them as constraining motives for moral action; as imposing inalienable obligations and duties. Indeed, the details of daily duty are for the most part founded upon what we receive on trust, not upon what we know intuitively. Confidence in testimony is all that we need, in order to make our belief tantamount to knowledge, and to place what we learn from others on the same footing, as regards the depth and cogency of our convictions, with what we derive from our own intuitions. Now why may we not be capable of receiving, on adequate testimony, as satisfactory information concerning the spiritual and the future world, as concerning things terrestrial? Are we so constituted that we can receive the testimony of man, but not that of God? Assuredly not. If there are things in the divine mind and in the womb of futurity, which we do not know of ourselves, there is no conceivable reason why we may not be taught them; and all that we need in order to receive them is the principle of faith, that is, confidence in testimony.

But it is said that these spiritual and future things must be derived by direct revelation from God to the mind of the individual. God may then make a revelation, and all that is con-

tained in that revelation shall be true. Why then cannot God set his seal upon the individual to whom such a revelation is made, as a faithful and true witness? Men can authenticate witnesses; why cannot God? Every earthly magistrate has his seal, which constitutes another his representative; is the King of kings alone without a seal? But if God has a seal, that seal must be miracle, that is, a deviation from the common course of nature. It is indeed said, that we know too little of the occult forces of nature, to distinguish between the natural and the supernatural. We grant that it is difficult to establish any logical distinction here, nay, we ourselves regard *nature* as but an unmeaning *nom de guerre*, and look upon God as no less immediately the cause of such cures as are wrought to-day, than he was of the resurrection of Lazarus. But there is a distinction, which practically we all recognise and feel, between what God does every day, and what, if he does at all, he does only once or twice in thousands of years. Were a man to enter one of our grave-yards, and call out alive one whom we knew to have been long dead, not one of us would find it in his heart to philosophize about the definition of a miracle. Our exclamation would be, like that of the astonished Samaritans, "This man is the great power of God." We should look upon him who thus raised the dead, as a special messenger from God; and were he to teach any new views of truth or duty, and to appeal to the resurrection of this dead man as a proof that he spake with authority from on high, there lives not among us the man, who could resist such an appeal, or who would dare to gainsay the doctrines thus taught. It has been said, we know, that miracles authenticate a messenger, and not his message; that is, in plain language, authenticate so much flesh and blood, but not the mind which moves it. If a messenger be in any degree authenticated, to the same degree must his message needs be authenticated. He, who makes himself responsible for the messenger, becomes equally so for the message. A man may be deceived in both. He may give his seal or his proxy to a fool or a knave, without knowing it. But the All-seeing One must know him to whom he lends his seal, or whom he constitutes his representative; and were he to empower, as a wonder-worker, either a fool or a knave, he would himself knowingly and wilfully be "the author of a lie."

We cannot then see any intrinsic impossibility in a revela-

tion being made in such a way, that the common sense of mankind shall recognise it as coming from God. The only remaining question is that of the necessity of a revelation. Is it then desirable that man should possess certain and objective knowledge of the future, of God, and of his fellow-spirits? If man is to live after death and forever, it cannot be denied that the most positive assurance of his immortality is of inestimable value to him, as furnishing the strongest motive to virtue, the best nurse of spirituality, the surest solace under bereavement, the most ready antidote against the fear of death. That consciousness and the analogies of nature cannot furnish so strong an assurance of this truth as man needs, would appear, first, from the consideration, that man's immortality depends on the will of God, not on the innate energy or the yearnings of the human spirit; and then, historically, from the fact, that the wisest and best of mere philosophers have spoken doubtingly on this point, that even Socrates expressed no more than a hesitating hope, while numberless Christians, relying on the testimony of God through Jesus, have passed through every extremity of persecution and suffering, and have lain down to die, not one whit less confident that they should be born into the life of heaven, than that they had walked the earth and seen the light of the sun. Again, if man is a sinner, he needs to know on what terms he is to be forgiven and accepted by God. Here the analogies of nature are voiceless; for sin is, so far as we know, confined to the heart of man. Here consciousness gives no certain response; for, in the old world, were there not as many responses as there were oracles, and no two agreed together? And does not the whole history of religion before Christ show a vague and unsuccessful effort to throw off the burden of guilt, and to gain some consciousness of the divine forgiveness, by fasts and sacrifices, by pilgrimage and self-torture? And did not philosophy omit altogether the cognizance of sin, and expressly confine its promises of good to that imagined class of men, who had kept their minds and hearts pure and godlike? Sin implies two parties, the sinner and the sinned against; and who but He, before whom "all are included under sin," shall dare to expound the complex relations which human guilt has established between man and his Creator? Certain it is, that before Christ, the burdened conscience sought relief in a vast variety of ways, without finding it, while through Christ multitudes have found not only

the assured consciousness of pardon for past sin, but strength to pursue for the residue of their lives a path of virtue and holiness.

Here then are two subjects, among others, pardon and immortality, on which we most deeply need instruction, and on which God alone can be our teacher. We believe that on these subjects God has taught us through his accredited messenger, Jesus Christ; and we receive the teachings of Jesus on these subjects, not because our own hearts teach us the same things, (though our hearts beat a glad and grateful welcome to his words,) but because Jesus professed to come from God, and to utter the words of God, and made that profession good by such signs and wonders as he could not have wrought, had not the Father been with him. We, therefore, do not look upon these doctrines of pardon and eternal life in the same light, in which we look upon the truths of geometry. We will not dispute their identity in the divine mind; the truths of geometry, of ethics, and of religion are parts of the same infinite mind. But there is a difference *manward.* Man may discover of himself the laws of number and of figure. He must wait for the laws of pardon and of immortality, till He, whose mind they are, reveals them.

We have not time to follow Mr. Parker, as he passes with his besom among the time-hallowed furniture of the Christian Temple. He does not even leave us the satisfaction of believing that we have a truthful delineation of the words and life of Christ. But, after speaking of some critical doubts, that have been started concerning single passages, he adds, "Who shall tell us that the work of retrenchment is to stop here; that others will not demonstrate what some pious hearts have long felt, that errors of doctrine and errors of fact may be found in many parts of the Law, here and there, from the beginning of Matthew to the end of Acts? We see how opinions have changed ever since the apostles' time; and who shall assure us that they were not sometimes mistaken in historical, as well as doctrinal matters; did not sometimes confound the actual with the imaginary, and that the fancy of these pious writers never stood in the place of their recollection?"

But glad times are coming for the influence of the Bible, when men are fully aware how full it is of fable and absurdity, and how much doubt rests upon the narratives of "eye-witnesses and ministers of the word." The Bible, we are told,

during the ages for which it has been implicitly believed, has been immensely beneficial. Notwithstanding their reverence for it, it has blessed the nations. But "when its true character shall be felt," and men shall no longer "subordinate Reason, Conscience, and Religion" to it, then shall it "be read oftener than ever before," "find access to the innermost heart of man, and speak there as now it seldom speaks."

But we arrive at last, omitting much that might claim our notice, had we room, at what is Permanent in Christianity. "Christianity is a simple thing; very simple. It is absolute, pure morality; absolute, pure religion; the love of man; the love of God acting without let or hindrance. The only creed it lays down is the great truth, which springs up spontaneous in the holy heart — there is a God. Its watchword is, be perfect as your Father in Heaven. The only form it demands is a divine life; doing the best thing, in the best way, from the highest motives; perfect obedience to the great law of God. Its sanction is the voice of God in your heart; the perpetual presence of Him, who made us and the stars over our head; Christ and the Father abiding within us." All this is true, and in accordance with Christianity. But why call it *Christianity?* It was all known before Christ; and, as Mr. Parker justly deems, is known independently of Christ, — was known and taught by Socrates and Plato, — is taught unceasingly by nature and in the course of Providence. To give it one name rather than another, is a mere matter of fancy. We do not indeed undervalue the great truths stated in the above extract. On the other hand, we believe them to be the religion of the perfect, — of the unfallen, — we trust that they will be our religion, if we fail not of a place among the ransomed of Jesus. But we have been accustomed to look upon Christianity as *a remedial system.* We have supposed that Christ expressed the prime object of his mission, when he said, "I came not to call the righteous, but *sinners* to *repentance.*" And we had supposed that the words of Jesus concerning sin, its remedy and pardon, if not permanent as the throne of God is, would at least abide in undecaying vitality and energy until sin shall be put away, nay, that they would dwell forever in the ascriptions of the redeemed "to him, who hath washed them from their sins, in his own blood." We miss from Mr. Parker's enumeration of the Permanent in Christianity, many things, which, we are well persuaded, the Christian public will not consent to

regard as transitory, but all of them articles of belief, which rest on authority, not on intuition, and which the author is, therefore, bound by the law of self-consistency to pass by as among the transitory. The doctrine of immortality, the duty and efficacy of repentance, the remission of sins, the paternal character of God, (to say nothing of those peculiar views of the nature and offices of Christ, which so many disciples cherish so jealously and tenderly,) all these are rightly omitted by Mr. Parker in his head of the Permanent; for all these belong to the Christianity of Jesus Christ, not to the Christianity, which "would stand firm, could it be proved that Jesus of Nazareth, had never lived." All these truths depend on the words and the life of the very Jesus, whom Matthew and John portrayed, and whom Paul preached.

Under this head, everything, which would distinguish Jesus by peculiar marks of a divine commission, or would place him in a peculiar relation to man, is denied. We are forbidden to look to him as a Mediator between God and man, though he himself tells us, "No man cometh unto the Father but through me." According to Mr. Parker we are to "worship with nothing between us and God,"—"we never are Christians as he was the Christ, until we worship, as Jesus did, with no mediator, with nothing between us and the Father of all," or, in other words, we never are Christians, till we do that which Christ himself assures us we can never do. It is most appropriately added in the next paragraph, that "real Christianity would not make Christ the despot of the soul," and "would make the Bible our servant, and not our master." For ourselves, if we may be permitted to choose, we prefer the servant's to the master's place, and cherish no fear of usurpation on the part of him, who, meek and lowly as he was, and in the form of a servant, yet hesitated not to call himself "Lord and Master." We have always been accustomed to look upon Jesus as the "fulness of the Godhead,"—as the most perfect manifestation of the divine in human form. This is most evidently the notion of the writers of the New Testament; and naturally enough, those who have made the Bible their *master*, and not their servant, have imbibed the same view. But "real Christianity," teaches a different doctrine. "It would not tell us that even he [Jesus] had exhausted the fulness of God so that he could create none greater."

We have already exceeded our proposed limits, and yet

have discussed but a few of the many points, which are brought forward in this sermon. In order to review the sermon adequately, scores of volumes would need to be written, were they not already written, and standing unanswered in our libraries. Mr. Parker has had the ingenuity to touch in his forty-eight pages upon almost every objection to authoritative or historical Christianity and its evidences, that can be found in the works of earlier or later *unbelievers*, as they used to be called. The master works of Butler and Paley, of Lardner, Jones and Douglas, of Warburton and Watson, were written to combat no other sentiments, than such as are advanced in this sermon. If there be any truth in the leading doctrine and the subsidiary thoughts of this sermon, there is not a work upon the Christian evidences extant, which is not worthless and worse than worthless. Nay, Hume, Gibbon, Woollston, Paine, have been consigned to infamy by the Christian world for uttering blasphemy, not against the permanent in Christianity, (for they denied not the being of a God, or the duty of being perfect,) but against the very narrations, notions, and doctrines, which, it is now discovered, appertain only to the mythological garb of the religion, and may be without reproach ridiculed and denied in the Christian pulpit. We say these things deliberately, and solemnly. We believe that Mr. Parker and his friends will admit that, according to their view of the case, those called *infidels* have been the best Christians, while the defenders of the faith have been its greatest enemies. And this is, in point of fact, the true issue, — has "real Christianity" been buried, from the moment the mortal breath escaped the body of Jesus until now, and have all professedly Christian writers, from St. Matthew down to the present century, set up an idol of their own make in its place; or have principles opposed to "real Christianity," which have always existed without the Church, of late crept within its enclosure? This issue, let those on either side, who love the truth, prepare themselves to meet. We had intended to have offered some remarks on this question, to have discussed the meaning and limitations of the term *Christian*, (which, from being the "highest style of man," is fast becoming in our apprehension a mere name of courtesy,) and to have said something on the duty which those, who regard the Bible as the record of a series of authoritative revelations, owe to the Bible and to the world; and, if our readers be not weary of us, they may hear from us again on these subjects.

We cannot forbear quoting, in conclusion, for the benefit of those, who imagine that an authoritative revelation is needless and useless, and that man's own intuitions are enough, the testimony of some of the philosophers that lived before Christ, to the darkness of the mind unenlightened by revelation, and the necessity of just such communications from God, as we think that we have in the gospel. One of the biographers of Pythagoras writes; "It is manifest that those things are to be done which are pleasing to God; but what they are, it is not easy to know, except a man were taught them by God himself, or by some person who had received them from God, or obtained the knowledge of them by some divine means." There is a striking passage in one of Plato's Dialogues, in which he represents Socrates as meeting one of his disciples on his way to the temple to pray, and trying to convince him that he knows not what to pray for or how. He then goes on to say; "It seems best to me, that we expect quietly, nay, it is absolutely necessary, that we wait with patience, till such time as we can learn certainly how we ought to behave towards God and man. Till that time arrives, it may be safer to forbear offering sacrifices, which you know not whether they are acceptable to God or not." A yet more remarkable passage is to be found in the reply of one of Socrates's disciples to his arguments for the soul's immortality. "I agree with you, Socrates, that to discover the certain truth of these things in this life is impossible, or at least very difficult. . . . . We ought, therefore, by all means to do one of these two things; either by hearkening to instruction and by our own diligent study, to find out the truth; or, if that be impossible, then to fix upon that which to human reason appears best and most probable, and to make that our raft while we sail this stormy sea, unless one could have a still more sure and safe guide, such as a divine revelation would be, on which we might make the voyage of life, as in a ship that fears no danger." Truly Christian spirits these, that so longed to see "the days of the Son of man,"—of the Redeemer's flock, though not in his fold! How humbly, how gladly would they have sat at his feet, nay, called him even by the obnoxious name of "Master!" How would they have hastened into the flames their own devout, but dubious speculations, could they have listened to his words of eternal life! Who can doubt that now, with prophets and apostles, they worship and adore in the full blaze of that divine light, the lack of which

they so deeply mourned, the need of which they so submissively owned?

A. P. P.

ART. VI.— *Chronicles of the Pilgrim Fathers of the Colony of Plymouth, from* 1602 *to* 1625, *now first collected from Original Records and Contemporary Printed Documents, and illustrated with Notes.* By ALEXANDER YOUNG. Boston: Charles C. Little and James Brown. 1841.

THE above work is from the press of Messrs. Little and Brown, and is executed in a manner creditable to the publishers, and worthy the subject of which it treats. We do not however intend to speak of the quality of the paper, the beauty of the typography, or the excellence of the binding, but to call the attention of our readers to the work itself, and to express our gratification that so valuable a contribution has been made to the history of the Pilgrim Fathers.

Within a few years a new impulse has been given to the study of American history. Our colonial records have been examined anew, and every fact relating to the early settlement of the country been most eagerly sought for. It is certainly a source of congratulation that such a love for the historical exists, and that it has already been the means of preserving from oblivion so many facts, tending to give us a true view of the early settlement of the country, and to establish beyond all doubt, the purity and honesty of those who accomplished so arduous an undertaking. Our community are deeply indebted to a few individuals who have labored so unceasingly in this cause, and through whose efforts historical societies and libraries have been established, and valuable ancient records and documents been preserved.

The work of Mr. Young differs from most of the histories which have of late been published. It is not a compilation, nor does it give the inferences or views of its learned editor. It is a collection of valuable ancient documents, written by the Pilgrims themselves, and of course expressing their true feel-

ings, and giving us a correct view of the motives which induced them to engage in so perilous an undertaking. Several of these documents have never before been published, and those which had been published had become exceedingly rare, and were not within the reach of most of our readers. A perusal of these papers has satisfied us that they will present the character of the Pilgrims in a still brighter light, and that they will correct many erroneous statements which were made by the early American historians, and have been copied and adopted by the later ones. We are sure that no one can read this work and then say with a good conscience, that the Pilgrims were actuated solely by political motives in leaving their homes; nor will he ever again sneer at their supposed folly in instituting a community of goods, or repeat for the ten thousandth time, the unfounded libel on the Captain of the May Flower.

The first paper in this volume is Gov. Bradford's History of Plymouth Colony, which, to use the language of the editor, "contains a detailed history of the rise of the Pilgrims in the north of England, their persecutions there, their difficult and perilous escape into Holland, their residence in that hospitable land for twelve years, the causes which led to their emigration, and the means which they adopted to transport themselves to America." Large portions of this history have been published in the historical works of Prince, Hutchinson, and Howard, and it has always heretofore been attributed to Secretary Morton, and as such it has been regarded with less respect than it would have been, had it been known that it was written by one who was an eye-witness to what he describes. It does not appear that any American writer had before doubted the authorship of this work, but all, even the learned editor of the Memorial, had taken it for granted that it was written by the colony Secretary. There appears to us now to be no question on this point. Mr. Young has given us evidence which settles the matter entirely, and leads us to the satisfactory conclusion, that it is the genuine history of Gov. Bradford, and as such is entitled to the highest respect. It bears in itself evidence of its genuineness, and may be considered the basis of all the historical works relating to the Plymouth colony, and the chief source from which all the others are derived. It was well known that Gov. Bradford had written a history of the Colony, but it was supposed to have been lost with other valuable papers, while the British had possession of the Old South Church

in this city, where it was deposited during the war of the Revolution. But fortunately this copy was made by Secretary Morton into the records of the Plymouth Church, by which means it has been preserved, and at the end of two centuries comes again to light, giving new evidence not only of the learning and fidelity of its immortal author, but of the purity and integrity of the whole Pilgrim race.

In this History the troubles and trials of the Pilgrims are well described. At the present day it seems almost incredible, that a government should insist on retaining within its own jurisdiction a class of men, who were so heartily despised and so cruelly persecuted as the Puritans. They were not permitted to remain at home or to remove in peace. On every side their enemies met them, and when they found they could no longer endure the trials and sorrows which they suffered in their native country, they asked but the poor privilege of seeking a new home beyond its limits. But even this the tyrant who then sat on the throne of England denied them. We can give no better account of the difficulties with which they had to contend, than by using the words of Gov. Bradford, who was an eye-witness and a fellow-sufferer. He says,

"For although they could not stay, yet were they not suffered to go; but the ports and havens were shut against them, so as they were fain to seek secret means of conveyance, and to fee the mariners and give extraordinary rates for their passages. And yet were they oftentimes betrayed, many of them, and both they and their goods intercepted and surprised, and thereby put to great trouble and charge; of which I will give an instance or two, and omit the rest.

"There was a great company of them purposed to get passage at Boston in Lincolnshire; and for that end had hired a ship wholly to themselves, and made agreement with the master to be ready at a certain day, and take them and their goods in at a convenient place, where they accordingly would all attend in readiness. So after long waiting and large expenses, though he kept not the day with them, yet he came at length and took them in, in the night. And when he had them and their goods aboard, he betrayed them, having beforehand complotted with the searchers and other officers so to do; who took them and put them into open boats, and there rifled and ransacked them, searching them to their shirts for money, yea, even the women further than became modesty; and then carried them back into the town, and made them a spectacle and wonderment to the

multitude, which came flocking on all sides to behold them. Being thus by the catchpole officers rifled and stripped of their money, books, and much other goods, they were presented to the magistrates, and messengers sent to inform the Lords of the Council of them; and so they were committed to ward. Indeed the magistrates used them courteously, and showed them what favor they could; but could not deliver them until order came from the council table. But the issue was, that after a month's imprisonment, the greatest part were dismissed, and sent to the places from whence they came; but seven of the principal men were still kept in prison and bound over to the assizes.

"The next spring after, there was another attempt made by some of these and others, to get over at another place, and it so fell out that they lighted of a Dutchman at Hull, having a ship of his own, belonging to Zealand. They made agreement with him, and acquainted him with their condition, hoping to find more faithfulness in him than in the former of their own nation. He bade them not fear; for he would do well enough. He was by appointment to take them in between Grimsby and Hull, where was a large company, a good way distant from any town. Now against the prefixed time, the women and children with the goods were sent to the place in a small bark, which they had hired for that end, and the men were to meet them by land. But it so fell out that they were there a day before the ship came, and the sea being rough, and the women very sick, prevailed with the seamen to put into a creek hard by, where they lay on ground at low water. The next morning the ship came, but they were fast, and could not stir until about noon. In the mean time, the shipmaster, perceiving how the matter was, sent his boat to be getting the men aboard, whom he saw walking about the shore. But after the first boat full was got aboard, and she was ready to go for more, the master espied a great company, both horse and foot, with bills and guns and other weapons; for the country was raised to take them. The Dutchman seeing that, swore his country's oath, ("sacrament,") and having the wind fair, weighed his anchor, hoisted sails, and away.

"But the poor men, which were got on board, were in great distress for their wives and children, which they saw thus to be taken, and were left destitute of their helps, and themselves also not having a cloth to shift them with, more than they had on their backs, and some scarce a penny about them, all they had being on board the bark. It drew tears from their eyes, and anything they had they would have given to have been on shore again. But all in vain; there was no remedy; they must

thus sadly part; and afterwards endured a fearful storm at sea, being fourteen days or more before they arrived at their port; in seven whereof they neither saw sun, moon, nor stars, and were driven to the coast of Norway; the mariners themselves, often despairing of life, and once with shrieks and cries gave over all, as if the ship had been foundered in the sea, and they sinking without recovery. But when man's hope and help wholly failed, the Lord's power and mercy appeared for their recovery; for the ship rose again, and gave the mariners courage again to manage her; and if modesty would suffer me, I might declare with what fervent prayers they cried unto the Lord in this great distress, especially some of them, even without any great distraction." "Upon which the ship did not only recover, but shortly after the violence of the storm began to abate, and the Lord filled their afflicted minds with such comforts as every one cannot understand, and in end brought them to their desired haven."

"But to return to the others where we left. The rest of the men, that were in the greatest danger, made shift to escape away before the troops could surprise them, those only staying that best might, to be assistant to the women. But pitiful it was to see the heavy case of these poor women in this distress; what weeping and crying on every side; some for their husbands that were carried away in the ship, as it was before related; others not knowing what would become of them and their little ones; others melted in tears, seeing their poor little ones hanging about them, crying for fear and quaking with cold. Being thus apprehended, they were hurried from one place to another, and from one justice to another, until in the end, they knew not what to do with them." "To be short, after they had been thus turmoiled a good while, and conveyed from one constable to another, they were glad to be rid of them in the end upon any terms, for all were wearied and tired of them."

The next document is the Journal of Bradford and Winslow, containing a minute detail of events from the arrival of the May Flower at Cape Cod to the return of the Fortune, December 11, 1621. It is a proper supplement to the history of Gov. Bradford, and was first published at London, in 1622, with a preface signed by G. Mourt, who has generally been supposed to have been the author of the work. It was abridged by Purchas in 1625, and has since been published in detached portions by the Massachusetts Historical Society. Mr. Young supposes that G. Mourt was a fictitious name, or was

intended for George Morton, the father of Nathaniel, who was at that time at London, and soon after joined the colonists at Plymouth. This supposition seems altogether probable, since no such person as G. Mourt was known at that time as a friend of the colonists, but on the other hand, George Morton was a brother-in-law of Gov. Bradford, and took a deep interest in the success of the colony. It is probable that this journal consisted of letters sent him and other friends of the colony by Bradford and Winslow, and they were undoubtedly written for the gratification of private friends, and not with a view to their publication. It appears to us that Mr. Young has fully settled the question of the authorship of this journal, and as the work of those who saw what they described, it is entitled to the highest respect, and must hereafter be regarded as an authentic portion of the Pilgrim history. It relates to the most interesting period of the settlement, giving us in detail the daily labors and efforts of the Pilgrims, and showing us how manfully they met every discouragement, and with what high moral views they established their civil polity, and formed their relations with the savage tribes which surrounded them.

Our "Chronicles" are continued by the Discourse of Robert Cushman, which is certainly a curiosity of itself, and well worthy a place in this interesting volume. It was delivered at Plymouth in November, 1621, and published with a preface at London, the following year. Its subject is the "Sin and Danger of Self-Love," and is probably the first published discourse ever delivered in America. It contains many useful hints to the colonists, and in the preface most excellent advice is given to those who may prepare to emigrate. He says,

"By God's providence a few of us are there planted to our content, and have with great charge and difficulty attained quiet and competent dwellings there. And thus much I will say for the satisfaction of such as have any thought of going thither to inhabit; that for men which have a large heart and look after great riches, ease, pleasures, dainties, and jollity in this world, (except they will live by other men's sweat, or have great riches,) I would not advise them to come there, for as yet the country will afford no such matters. But if there be any who are content to lay out their estates, spend their time, labors, and endeavors for the benefit of them that shall come after, and in desire to further the Gospel among those poor heathens, quietly contenting themselves with such hardship and difficul-

ties as by God's providence shall fall upon them, being yet young and in their strength, such men I would advise and encourage to go, for their ends cannot fail them."

Next follows "Winslow's Relation," and his "Brief Narration of the true Grounds or Cause of the first Planting of New England"—the first of which is a continuation of his journal, down to Sept. 10, 1623—and the last an able vindication of the character of the colonists, in reply to the charges made against them by Gorton and others. We are glad to see these two works printed entire, for they tend to give us a better idea of the motives and expectations of the Pilgrims than any other works of the time; and the last is a full and most satisfactory reply to the thousand slanders, which were repeated and published by their enemies at that time, and have been secretly cherished by the enemies of the Pilgrim character ever since. We are informed by the editor that no copy of this work was to be found in this country, and that his manuscript was taken from a copy in the British Museum,—a fact that will go far to pardon the ignorance of those, who have so freely charged the Pilgrims with selfish and mercenary motives.

The next document is a Dialogue written by Gov. Bradford, which was copied in the Plymouth Church records by Secretary Morton. This has never before been printed. It purports to be a conversation between the "ancient men," or those who came from England, and the "young men," or those who were born in the colony. It was written in 1648, at a time when the young men began to feel some curiosity to learn what led their fathers and mothers to leave their homes, and what was the character of their friends, who suffered so much for opinion's sake. The dialogue is well sustained, and so far as it goes, supports every position taken by Winslow. It fully answers such questions, as might naturally have been asked, and gives us some accounts of individual character, which we do not recollect having seen in any other work. We cannot refrain from quoting the answer of the "ancient men," when requested by the young men to give them some account "of those two churches that were so long in exile." They say,

"Truly there were in them many worthy men; and if you had seen them in their beauty and order, as we have done, you would have been much affected therewith, we dare say. At Amsterdam, before their division and breach, they were about three hundred communicants, and they had for their pastor and

teacher those two eminent men before named, and in our time four grave men for ruling elders, and three able and godly men for deacons, one ancient widow for a deaconess, who did them service many years, though she was sixty years of age when she was chosen. She honored her place, and was an ornament to the congregation. She usually sat in a convenient place in the congregation with a little birchen rod in her hand, and kept little children in great awe from disturbing the congregation. She did frequently visit the sick and weak, especially women, and, as there was need, called out maids and young women to watch and do them other helps, as their necessity did require; and if they were poor, she would gather relief for them of those that were able, or acquaint the deacons; and she was obeyed as a mother in Israel and an officer of Christ.

"And for the church of Leyden, they were sometimes not much fewer in number, nor at all inferior in able men, though they had not so many officers as the other; for they had but one ruling elder with their pastor, a man well approved and of great integrity; also they had three able men for deacons. And that, which was a crown unto them, they lived together in love and peace all their days, without any considerable differences, or any disturbance that grew thereby, but such as was easily healed in love; and so they continued until with mutual consent they removed into New England. And what their condition hath been since, some of you that are of their children do see and can tell. Many worthy and able men there were in both places, who lived and died in obscurity in respect of the world, as private Christians; yet were they precious in the eyes of the Lord, and also in the eyes of such as knew them, whose virtues we with such of you as are their children do follow and imitate."

The volume closes with a Memoir of Elder Brewster, written by Gov. Bradford, and several letters from distinguished friends of the colony, among which is one from the church at Leyden to the church of Plymouth, which bears date Nov. 30, 1625. This letter is full of expressions of friendship, and at once shows the error into which Hutchinson and other historians have fallen, in supposing that a division of the church at Leyden was produced by a contention among themselves. How so accurate a historian as Hutchinson should have adopted so palpable an error, is beyond our comprehension. No writer of the day worthy of the least regard ever pretended it, but on the other hand, it was a notorious fact at the time, that the members of the Leyden church were on the most amicable

terms, and that they continued so as long as any of the members of which it was composed continued to exist. The church at Plymouth for years received accessions from their friends at Leyden, and it is more than probable that, had not Robinson been so prematurely cut off by death, he and most of his church would have joined their brethren at Plymouth, and again united with them not merely in acts of kindness and sympathy, but in praise and adoration to the Saviour and deliverer of them all.

The thanks of our community are due to Mr. Young for his services in preparing this volume. It is composed of a variety of original documents, as we have seen — all of which were written at the time the events took place of which they treat, and were written, too, by the actors and eye-witnesses themselves. This gives them their great value, and in reading them we feel ourselves carried back to the period when they were written, and find it somewhat difficult to realize that the scenes which they describe have passed away, or that the heroic actors of that eventful period no longer exist on earth. No one can read the modern histories of our country, even those which are the most popular, without feeling how perfectly inadequate they are to express the real truths of our early history. Most of them are mere compilations, or partake of the bias and coloring of the author's mind. They appear to depart from the true path of history, which is, to describe facts, and to discuss philosophical theories, or to deduce certain effects from causes with which none other can see any connexion. In this way modern histories have produced strange results, and we read them rather to learn what are the conclusions of the author, than the real truths which history teaches. These ancient documents are subject to no such objections, but are of themselves the source whence true historical knowledge is drawn.

The value of this work is much increased by the copious notes and numerous references of the learned editor. In this he has exhibited his great skill and his extensive historical knowledge. They are necessary to a full explanation, and a proper understanding of the text, and tend to give unity to the several parts of which the work is composed. We think he is right in regarding these as the only authentic history, and that all deviations from them by subsequent writers are errors. The period of two centuries has produced many of these errors,

which have been copied and repeated by writer after writer, until they have begun to wear the semblance of truth. Our limits will not permit us to discuss this subject at length, yet there is one error which is so common, and which almost every historian has copied and every schoolboy believed, that we cannot refrain from referring to it. We allude to the supposed bribery of the Captain of the May Flower by the Dutch to land the Pilgrims on the New England shore, rather than on the Hudson River, where they purposed making a settlement. There is no doubt that the Pilgrims intended to have made a settlement in a more southerly region, and probably in the neighborhood of New York; and because it was their fortune to have made the first land at Cape Cod, it has been thought necessary to account for this mistake by supposing the Captain to have been bribed. It is we think a sufficient reply to this charge against Captain Jones, that no such suggestion was ever made by Bradford, Winslow, or other leading men of the colony, who would certainly have not been silent on this subject, had there been the least suspicion of its truth. It is a charge that had its origin at a later day, and among other persons than the passengers of that memorable vessel. On the other hand, it is a well established fact, that Captain Jones had the entire confidence of the colonists, and was subsequently engaged in their service, which we can hardly suppose possible, if even suspicions of such gross fraud existed in the minds of the Pilgrims. Thus much is due to a man whose fair name has been tarnished, and whose character has been most unjustly injured. At that day when the science of navigation was far less perfect than at present, and when our coast was wholly unexplored, and to the Pilgrims almost unknown, it is not strange that they did not reach the very point on the coast, where they wished. We ought rather to wonder that, in that frail vessel and with their imperfect means of navigation, they were able to reach a point so near the wished for port. It seems almost a miracle that they arrived at all, and it is due to the heroic commander of that frail bark, freighted as it was with the founders of an empire, to say, that he acted his part most manfully, and that during the whole of that perilous voyage he did everything which skill, care, and industry could do. In justice, there should be neither spot nor blemish on his fame, but to him, as well as to the others on board, our country and the world owe a deep and lasting debt of gratitude.

The volume is embellished with a beautiful engraving of Gov. Winslow, whose likeness alone of all the Pilgrims has been preserved; and also by maps of Cape Cod and Plymouth Bay, as well as by engravings of the May Flower, and the chairs of Winslow, Carver, and Brewster. These are not merely matters of ornament, but serve to illustrate the history of the times, and are an appropriate addition to the work. We have only to regret that we have not the portraits of Bradford, Brewster, Standish, and other prominent men of the colony. They would be invaluable, and as year after year passes away, an increased interest will be felt in all that appertains to those eminent men; to their private as well as public history. Many materials now remain from which their history could be learned, and we trust that Mr. Young will still find an opportunity to prosecute this work, and to give us the results of other investigations in this department of history, in which he has already acquired an enviable reputation.

The Plymouth colony gave the world the first model of a truly free government. The whole people of the colony met in the cabin of the May Flower, on the 11th of November, 1620, and signed a compact, which they agreed should be their constitution of government. Here was an express covenant, and not the implied or theoretical one, which writers on government have been so fond of creating; and it is said to have been the first of the kind of which history gives us any information. Of this meeting in the May Flower, we know but little, except by its results. At whose suggestion it was called, what difference of opinion existed among those who were present, what were the debates, and by whose eloquence it was moved, history gives us no information. Could it unfold to us the whole of the proceedings of this memorable meeting, and inform us what opinions of government each entertained; by what hopes and fears each was moved; and what anticipations of the future each had formed, can we doubt that it would present us the complete triumph of humanity and justice over selfishness; that it would add new glory to the Pilgrim name, and exhibit them not merely as the worthy founders of a new empire and a new system of government, but as martyrs in the cause of religion and humanity?

This colony was small, and its duration as a separate government short; yet in its influence on the character and condition of our country and of the human race, it can hardly be too

highly estimated. Never was there a more successful experiment of popular government, combining all the strength and vigor of a monarchy with all the freedom and security of a republic. During the whole seventy-one years of its existence, there were but six governors, although the elections took place annually; and two of these continued in office through the long period of thirty-nine years, — a period by no means of repose, but of peril and excitement. In the intercourse of the colonists with the Indian tribes, they afford a bright example of humanity. Not a foot of their soil was taken from them without their consent, nor without the payment of an equivalent. The treaty with Massassoit for a half century was most scrupulously observed, and it was not their fault or the fault of that faithful sachem, that it was at last violated, and the colony plunged into a most disastrous war with its ancient ally. Though a century and a half have now elapsed since its union with Massachusetts, yet the distinctive principles on which it was founded are still recognised and duly appreciated. As the population extends over our country from river to river, and from mountain to mountain, they will carry with them the principles here implanted, and will establish the institutions of learning and religion which the Pilgrims first formed. The fire here kindled will never go out, but will continue to burn brighter and brighter, shedding light and warmth to millions yet unborn. Wherever freedom finds a home, and true religion a votary, there the name of the Pilgrim will be honored, and there his example, like the beacon light to the weary and benighted mariner, will give new strength and inspire new hope.

W. B.

CRITICAL NOTICES.

The Four Gospels: with a Commentary. By A. A. Livermore. Vol. I. *Matthew.* Boston: James Munroe & Company. London: John Green. 1841. 12mo. pp. 345.

This is a popular Commentary on the Gospel of Matthew, according to the received Version. We rejoice that it comes from one so competent for the undertaking, as Mr. Livermore has shown himself to be. We have examined portions of the

work with considerable care, and have found in it satisfactory evidence of sound judgment, and of ample learning for the end, which the author proposed to himself. His object has been not so much to add to our stores of Biblical learning, as to bring forward for common use, what has not been accessible heretofore. We think that our Sunday School Teachers and Bible Classes will learn more respecting the religion of Christ from this, than from any popular Commentary, which is in use in this country. While Mr. Livermore endeavors to unfold the true and exact meaning of a passage, he looks beyond the letter of the words of Jesus to the life-giving spirit. While with ample learning he sets forth the particular and local meaning, which belongs to many of the sayings of our Saviour, he does not neglect to point out the general import, which they have for all men and all times. His explanations strike us as generally clear and correct; his opinions on subjects, which have recently engaged the attention of the community, are sound; that is, he holds the received views of the church respecting the design of miracles, and the peculiar and divine authority of Christ. He is very free from mysticism and nonsense. His moral reflections are natural and to the purpose; suggested by the text, and not forced upon it.

That we should agree with him in all his expositions is not to be expected. One, which now occurs to us, in which we differ from him, is that of Matt. v. 34, though he appears to have Griesbach on his side. On the whole, we regard the work as highly creditable to the talents, learning, and spirit of the author, and to the Theological School where he was educated. In this work, as in others by alumni of the Cambridge School, we observe traces of the opinions and influence of one of its earliest professors, who has heretofore been honored in the productions of his pupils, hardly less than in the important contributions to theological science, which he has given to the world under his name.

The Comprehensive Church: or Christian Unity and Ecclesiastical Union. By the Rev. Thomas Vail, A. M. Hartford: H. Huntington, Jr. 1841. 12mo. pp. 301.

This is a work of the best intentions, and written in a perfectly liberal and catholic spirit. The author's aim is to promote Christian unity, and to show, that if Christians would but think so, they might all come together, and dwell in harmony, under the wings of the Protestant Episcopal Church of the United States — a church,

which he devotes the greater part of his volume to prove, is truly catholic, liberal, comprehensive; rejecting none of the great Christian brotherhood, who receive the chief essentials in Christian doctrine, welcoming all who do, no matter how widely they may depart from her standards in things non-essential. And certainly he makes out a very good case. He makes it appear that his Church deserves the praise of a large and generous spirit — deserves it in a higher sense than any other of the principal denominations among Christians. But before we can intelligently determine what is the absolute comprehensiveness of its charity — not its comparative — we must be told what is the author's definition of "essentials," and "non-essentials." He indeed affirms, that the only acknowledged obligatory rule of faith in the Episcopal Church is the Apostles' Creed — a creed, which all certainly may subscribe, who receive the Scriptures as a divine revelation.

"Since," says Mr. Vail, "none other than the Apostles' Creed is obligatory (that is, under the penalty of a refusal of the sacraments except it be confessed) upon the members of the Church; and since all persons, who believe the Scriptures and are not infidels, will acknowledge this creed, whatever may be their differences in interpreting and explaining the Scriptures, — is there not, therefore, danger to the doctrines of the Church from such liberality? and ought not another and more minute and explicit creed to be substituted?

"We reply: The Church has no right to require any further intellectual qualifications for the sacraments, than a belief in the plain and indisputable facts and doctrines of the Scripture, such as is expressed, substantially, in the Apostles' Creed. When it goes beyond this, it sets up human reasonings, the doctrines of men, as the terms upon which men are to receive the privileges of Christ's Church — an usurpation which cannot be justified. It is not for the Church, in the execution of its trust, to say what is danger on the one hand, or what is expediency on the other. It is simply to administer the ordinances of Christ upon his own terms, and as He himself would to all his true disciples, and leave the protection of its doctrines to the gracious and mighty providence of its great Head." — pp. 130, 131.

Nothing could be better than this. He says, moreover, that the true Comprehensive Church will be broad enough to admit, "all sincere humble-hearted disciples of our Lord." "A Church," he maintains in another place, "is an association of all true disciples of Christ, acknowledging his Gospel for their rule of faith and practice, of every variety of personal opinion, talent, temperament, and condition." And, again, "We cannot acknowledge one which rests on a narrower foundation, as illustrating the true idea of a Church." Does the author include in this wide and generous embrace those, who

feel themselves conscientiously constrained to reject as unscriptural the two cardinal doctrines of his Church? We have some misgivings that such are not regarded by him as Christians, but as those, who, failing in "essentials," it is not possible should be received within even the true, catholic, comprehensive Church. The case, indeed, is not once alluded to, that we can discover, in the course of the volume. It is nowhere formally said that such believers are to be excluded, and, on the other hand, it is said that "all humble-hearted believers in Jesus" will be admitted. But, at the same time, and it is this that causes our doubt, the book of Common Prayer, which all of the true Comprehensive Church must alike worship by, is supposed to remain as it is. No hint is dropped, that its doctrine may suffer diminution or change, except by the vote of a majority of the Church. We must infer, therefore, that while this Church will enlarge itself to receive all who come under the category of "Orthodox Christians," it will contract itself on the approach of all who lie out of that definition. Its liturgy, remaining as it is, must necessarily act as a principle of exclusion. The Episcopal Church is not, therefore, and cannot be without further changes, a truly catholic, comprehensive Church. Let it reform its Liturgy, and bring it into harmony with the "Lord's Prayer," and the prayer of Jesus in the 14th chapter of St. John's Gospel, in which "all who profess and call themselves Christians" can join, let it strike out its trinitarian ascriptions, let the litany be purged of its shocking, heathenish adjurations, let it expunge the Nicene Creed, and remodel its Baptismal forms — all which would not abridge it by the loss of a page, and the Episcopal Church would then indeed be liberal and comprehensive, a genuine catholic church. Till that is done, it will justly be charged as narrow and exclusive, repelling thousands who, for the sake of its otherwise "excellent liturgy," would gladly worship there, and compelling a still greater number of those who do worship there, to do so with discomfort and mental reservation.

The author, in the course of his volume, speaks of "dissenters," in this country, inadvertently we suppose, as in any other than a philosophical sense the term is here wholly inapplicable. In our country, free of the incubus of an established Church, the Baptist or the Presbyterian is no otherwise a dissenter to the Episcopalian, than the Episcopalian is to the Presbyterian or the Baptist.

To those who wish to obtain a clear, and we suppose correct, view of the Episcopal Church as it is in this country, in respect to its government, ritual, and doctrine, we can recom-

mend this little volume of Mr. Vail. It is written in an agreeable manner, and in a spirit of the utmost kindness toward all.

A Sermon, preached before the First Congregational Society in Burlington, Vt. By their Minister, GEORGE G. INGERSOLL, and published at their request. Burlington: Chauncy Goodrich. 1841. 8vo. pp. 32.

THIS discourse, preached on the occasion of a State Fast, constitutes a very valuable addition to our religious tracts. It is much too valuable to perish, as too many occasional discourses do, with the hearing, or the printing. It deserves a wide circulation, as perhaps the most popular argument on the subject of which it treats — The Death of Christ — that the press has sent forth. Not that it is deficient in other and higher qualities. If it is popular and striking in its form, it is not for that, any the less distinguished for comprehensiveness, for strength, and logical force. The friends of liberal Christianity have reason to be well satisfied with the manner in which the cause of the true faith is defended in this northern Diocese.

Mr. Ingersoll travels over a wide ground in his discourse, omitting hardly an argument or an idea of any value. He first states and describes the doctrine of the Atonement in the very words of its principal believers and defenders, following it up by a sketch of its history, and a philosophical account of its origin. He then shows, in several particulars, how it is in hostility to the conclusions of the best reason, and much more to the character of God, to the spirit and character of the Gospel. Next he looks into the foundations on which its advocates place it, and runs through the main Scripture arguments resorted to in its support, replying to them *seriatim*, and closes with a statement of what he conceives to be the true design of the Death of Christ. This is much in little; but there is no confusion or obscurity, everything is clear and intelligible, and the several parts well proportioned to each other, and the whole.

We give Mr. Ingersoll's account of the origin of the popular doctrine of the atonement.

"This doctrine owes its origin and continuance to the same unhappy principle, that has introduced but too many corruptions into Christianity — that is, wrong views of the character of God. Before the coming of Christ, men made their own gods, and they made them like themselves. Even in that single people where only the true God was

known, He is represented as saying 'thou thoughtest that I was altogether such an one as thyself.' Men have retained since, but too much of the same disposition to fashion their God according to their own liking. The Pagan trembled before his god, and sought to win his favor or avert his anger. So he built his altar, and brought his sheaf, or slaughtered his victim; and as the flame ascended and the cloud of incense rolled, he felt happy in the thought, that he had secured the good will of his deity. He went to him, as among men the feeble go to the strong, with a gift in his hands — to conciliate, to propitiate, to buy protection and kindness. He went to his god as the slave to his master, the subject to his king, and kneeled, and sung his song of praise, and offered his present, believing in his heart that his god would smile, even as the master and the king would smile. And this is a plain and rational account of the institution or custom of sacrifice. Precisely in the same way can we account for the doctrine we are considering. Christians were not called on to bring their first fruits, to pour out their wine and oil, or shed the blood of bulls and goats — so the death of Christ was made a sacrifice. And since man, by his transgressions, was regarded as offending the only true God, the anger of that God was appeased and satisfaction made to his justice by the atonement of his well-beloved son. There is but too much melancholy evidence of the effect of heathenism over Christianity; and when it became the State religion of Rome's great empire, history tells us how sadly successful were the efforts to accommodate the Gospel to a pagan taste. The visiter at the great city, even in our day, plainly discovers the infusion and the influence, and tells a mournful tale of saints and festivals, which have changed the names, but kept the character, of heathen divinities and heathen revels. But alas! the influence over the spirit and doctrines of the Gospel was more subtile and less perceived; and many, who live at a distance from the showy ceremonies of a corrupted faith, are not aware that the doctrines they cherish are unhealthy grafts, and not the natural branches of the Tree of Life."— pp. 9, 10.

In arguing against the doctrine from the Character of God, Mr. Ingersoll thus eloquently and conclusively reasons.

"Our Father in Heaven — here is my answer to this doctrine. Our Father in Heaven. I ask each parent, for a moment, to imagine his child before him. That child has offended, but he, now, kneels to him for forgiveness. With streaming eyes and lifted hands, he says, Father forgive me. He weeps over his past disobedience, he promises amendment — nay, he says, take me on trial, and if I do not reform, then cast me out to die. What human parent would spurn from him a child like this? What human parent would say, I cannot forgive you; but if one of my long tried, dutiful, innocent children, will come and give his limbs to the fetters, his back to the scourge, and suffer the punishment which you deserve, then, I will forgive you and grant you my blessing. And now I ask, what child on earth would accept a parents' blessing on terms like these? What man, with the true feelings of a man, would see his brother groan, and bleed, and faint, because, in his affection, he was willing to endure it all to save him from his father's

curse? Shall we dare to imagine such a situation for our Heavenly Father? Is this the interpretation that Jesus would have us give of his own beautiful parable of the Prodigal Son? Must we say, as this doctrine teaches, there is no forgiveness with the Heavenly Father for his repentant child?"— p. 16.

We learn with satisfaction, since the above was written, that the Committee of the Unitarian Association have determined to issue this sermon of Mr. Ingersoll as one of their tracts, and that it is already in the press.

An Oration delivered at Charlestown, Massachusetts, on the 17th of June, 1841, in Commemoration of the Battle of Bunker Hill. By GEORGE E. ELLIS. Boston: W. Crosby & Co. 1841.

MR. ELLIS in a clear, flowing, rapid style has in this address held up before the youth of the present generation a glowing picture of the great battle of the revolution. No one who reads it can fail to carry away from its perusal a conception of the scenes of the 17th of June, hardly less distinct than if he had himself been an actor. As its narrative is founded chiefly on the now classical authority of Col. Swett — some new particulars being added from other sources — it may be taken, we suppose, to be as complete and accurate a history of the events of that day, as existing documents can furnish. Little remains to be supplied by any future researches. If battles must be fought, or rather if battles have been fought, we would by all means have their histories truly related, and errors, however long descended, corrected. One delusion in relation to this battle of Bunker Hill was partly dissipated by the publications drawn forth by the controversy that sprang up several years ago, which made Warren the commander, and hero of the day; — an error occasioned naturally enough by his high station as President of the Provincial Congress, taken in connexion with the fact of his being in the fight, by his death on the field of battle, and hardly less, by Trumbull's picture of the "Death of General Warren," and the engravings from it which have spread through the country. There are very few even at the present time, after all the investigations that have been had, who from these causes do not associate with the name of Warren the glory of the battle. Mr. Ellis takes pains to set this piece of history in its proper light. "Prescott," he concludes with saying, "was the Hero of the day; and wherever the tale is told, let him be its chieftain."

The account of the battle is introduced by an equally well told story of the civil and political events which drew it on.

The value of Mr. Ellis's publication would have been much enhanced, if accompanied by a military map or chart of the ground, and the several positions of the opposing forces, copied from the map prefixed to Col. Swett's pamphlet and drawn upon stone, and it would have added but little to the cost of the pamphlet.

Names and Titles of the Lord Jesus Christ. By CHARLES SPEAR. Fourth Edition. Boston: B. B. Mussey, 1841.

THE volume before us consists of short essays or sermons, upon each of the names or titles applied to our Saviour in the Bible. Of these names or titles the author, by the exercise here and there of some ingenuity, discovers the large number of eighty. The remarks upon them are principally of a practical and devotional character, with criticisms upon the passages used as texts intermingled, drawn from approved authorities. The work has already reached a fourth edition; which seems to prove an adaptation to the wants of a large class of readers. The religious opinions of the author are those, we believe, of the Universalists. The thought and the language of the discourses are sometimes striking and vigorous, as in the following paragraph from the first essay in the volume, on the title of the Advocate.

"It has been supposed by many, that the Judge was angry with the sinner, and that the Advocate came to reconcile Him. Admitting this view of the character of God, we must see that He is wholly disqualified to judge the world. To illustrate: suppose we enter a court of justice, and discover the judge on the bench full of fury and wrath, anxious to condemn the criminal. Would not every one say that he was unfit for his station? It would appear still more awful if the judge should stand in the relation of father to the culprit! And it is in this relation that God stands to every transgressor. It follows, therefore, that the Father of spirits will inflict no punishment, that is not intended for the best good of the sinner."— p. 17.

Christian Union; a Discourse delivered before the Unitarian Society at Trenton, in the house for worship at the "Public Square," Jan. 10, 1841. By EDGAR BUCKINGHAM. Utica: John P. Bush, 1841. 8vo. pp. 19.

MR. BUCKINGHAM has given to the Christian Public, in this Sermon on Christian Union, a discourse of great beauty, both

in the train of thought he has followed out, and the language in which the thought is clothed. In the uniform gentleness of the tone, the justness of the sentiment, the impressive simplicity and yet liveliness of the style, we are reminded of Fenelon. The heart of the hearer must have been warmed by every sentence he heard, as well as his mind instructed, and his charities enlarged. The reader will be equally benefitted. No Sermon or tract has lately appeared which we would sooner send forth as a herald of our faith, or from whose wide sowing we should look for a better harvest. Mr. Buckingham speaks first of the evils of dissension and the desirableness of union; and then after showing that a true Christian union does not imply the coming under any one form of Church Government and discipline, or agreement in any one set of speculative opinions, he describes the kind of union which is both practicable and obligatory. Of this — which constitutes the body of the discourse, the author says,

"But set forth as plainly as we may the duty of Christian union, we shall not be persuaded to labor to heal the dissensions among the professed followers of Christ, until we are led to feel how much they already agree, even where they seem to differ."— p. 11.

He then proceeds thus in the following paragraph.

"We agree in some points then! Yes, let us observe, that we agree in the all important point, *the experience of Religion*. Religion does not, in the understanding of any Christian believer, consist in mere external conduct. It is the fear, it is the love of God. All, who become religious, feel the same deep reverence for God; they all entertain the same solemn regard to his commandments. If they sin, they hold themselves accountable. If any, in reflecting upon themselves, are awakened to feel that they are sinners, the same emotions, the same shame, the same fear, the thought of the same judgment occupies their minds, to whatever denomination they may belong. If any desire happiness after having sinned, they must seek it of the same God, in the same way; and if any find forgiveness of Him, the same peace, and joy, and love, possess their minds, whatever be the religious views they hold and the name they bear. Whoever is religious, entertains the same religion with all religious people. The views, which some hold of the character of God, may be more attractive; the views, which some entertain concerning his dealings with men, may seem more clear, more worthy than those entertained by others. Yet to pray is always the same; to seek God's presence, to receive in the heart "the manifestation of the Father," is always the same experience among Christians of every name. Christ teaches all who sin to repent. Repentance is the same with all. Christ teaches all to seek forgiveness. Forgiveness is the same with all. He teaches all men to pray. Prayer is the same with all. He directs all men to keep the commandments; and all, who do, bear characters alike. Their purity, their spirituality,

their charity towards men, their faith in him, their humility and love towards God, are alike in all; nor, when we discover a pure, humble, devoted, believing, charitable, pious man, have we any means of knowing from his character to what denomination he belongs. All Christians seek to resemble their master: they seek to 'follow God as dear children.' What matters it, in how much else they differ? They are alike in their present experience, in their future hopes. They aim after the same things; they aim after the same prize; they all seek that holiness by which man sees God; they all seek that spirit, by which they are Christ's. How is it possible that there should be envying, strife, and divisions among them? — No: we are not Christians, we are carnal and walk as men, while contentions exist among us. We are Christians, only, when we endeavor to keep the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace, — having, as we have, one spirit, one Lord, one faith, one baptism, one God and Father of all. Under these circumstances, can we not have confidence one in another? Can we not sympathize? Yes! being children of one parent, followers of one Lord, there is no reason why we should dislike one another. We will rejoice with every man who turns to God, whatever 'Church' he may join. We will wish success, and pray for success, to all of every name, who seek to turn men to righteousness."— pp. 12, 13.

A Vindication of the Character and Condition of the Females employed in the Lowell Mills against the Charges contained in the Boston Times and the Boston Quarterly Review. By Elisha Bartlett, M. D. Lowell: Leonard Huntress. 1841.

We have no room for either analysis, or extracts; nor are they needed. The "Vindication" is complete, and so the country has judged. The charges are already forgotten; while the remarkable moral statistics presented in the pamphlet of Dr. Bartlett, which those charges called forth, have served to raise Lowell, its female operatives, and its companies to a place in the public esteem they never possessed before, and but for the "Charges" might not have done for many a year; and have moreover proved to the world, that a manufacturing population may be not less distinguished for general order, for prevailing health, for intelligence, for the moral virtues, for the observance and support of religious institutions, than the inhabitants of commercial or agricultural districts.

THE

CHRISTIAN EXAMINER.

NOVEMBER, 1841.

ART. I. — 1. *Johan: Kirchmanni Lubecensis de Funeribus Romanorum libri quatuor cum Appendice, nitidissimis figuris illustrati.* Lugd. Batav. 1672.

2. *Johannis Meursii de Funere liber singularis in quo Græci et Romani Ritus.*

3. *Josephi Laurentii, Lucencis, de Funeribus Antiquorum Tractatus in quo Ritus Funebres ante Rogum, in Rogo, et post Rogum explicantur.*

4. *Jo. Andræ Quenstedii, Wittenbergensis, de Sepultura Veterum Tractatus, sive de Antiquis Ritibus Sepulchralibus, Græcorum, Romanorum, Judæorum, et Christianorum.* — N. B. These three last cited may be found in the Thesaurus of Gronovius. Vol. xi.

5. *Libri III. de Sepulchris Hebræorum Veterum. Ex S. Scripturâ.* Gen. 2, 3, 4; Reg. 13; John 11; et Matt. 27, &c. *Ex Rabbinorum Commentis, quæ extant in Mishnae Bava Batra,* 5, 8, *et Supra h. l. commentario laterali.*

6. *Cemetery Interment, &c., containing a particular Account of "Abney Park" Cemetery.* By GEORGE COLLISON, Solicitor. London. 1840.

7. *An Address delivered at the Consecration of the Lowell Cemetery, June* 20, 1841. By AMOS BLANCHARD, Pastor of the First Congregational Church in Lowell.

IT will be perceived by the titles we have prefixed to this paper, that the subject of the Burial of the Dead has occupied much attention in former times. It has been revived within a few years, in different parts of Europe, and has re-

cently received, amongst ourselves, an unwonted share of regard. The "Address" above named is one of several that the establishment of Rural Cemeteries in this country has called forth. The subject is one of great public concern, and we shall be happy, in our humble sphere, to enlighten, advance, and perpetuate the interest it is now exciting.

The older treatises, which we have prefixed, were prepared with a learned research and thoroughness of scholarship, of which we as a people have given few or no examples, and will be found to contain most things known or knowable on the subject to which they relate. This remark is peculiarly applicable to the treatises of Quenstedius and of Kirchmannus.

The book of Mr. Collison comprises, as it purports to do, a summary account of "Cemetery Interment," in different parts of the world, and in particular, an accurate and interesting description of the "Abney Park" Cemetery, near London. It refers, with honor due, to Mount Auburn, Massachusetts, and contains, as was proper, the whole of Mr. Justice Story's excellent address, which was delivered at its Consecration.

The "Address" of Rev. Mr. Blanchard, like others of a similar kind, does not seem to us to fall within the reach of a rigorous criticism. Such productions are essentially popular in their nature, and therefore somewhat superficial in their execution; they are prepared for a special occasion, and for immediate effect; and if they meet, therefore, tolerably well the claims of the hour, they have fulfilled their mission, and may be permitted, henceforth, unquestioned and in silence, to find such a place as their specific gravity may allow, in that stream of oblivion, which is continually sweeping out of sight and out of mind the thousands of similar productions, to which our popular institutions are constantly giving birth. Before taking final leave of that now before us, we may observe, that it lies, in our judgment, very open to censure on account of its redundant and artificial style, and the general poorness of its literary execution; while, on the other hand, it is entitled to much commendation for its pervadingly just and appropriate train of thought, and for the uniform solemnity and tenderness of its tone.

We now proceed to the main object of this article. This is to advert to the necessity, and to the moral and religious uses of an appropriate Burial of the Dead, and to state in a

connected though in as brief account as possible the various methods of Burial, which have prevailed in the different regions of the world, and from the earliest times to the present. Our hope is, by thus laying before our readers a broad view of the subject, to lead their minds to the same conclusion, to which we ourselves have long since arrived, that Burial in Rural Cemeteries, now happily prevailing amongst us, is, of all modes of Sepulture that have ever been practised, on all accounts to be preferred.

The appropriate Burial of the Dead is suggested and enforced, we hardly need say, by the natural sentiments of the human heart. Philosophize as wisely as we may, on the worthlessness of our mortal frames, when life is extinct, and their component parts have obeyed their natural affinities, and have gone to mingle with their kindred elements, — the argument is wholly unavailing. Let it be admitted in its full and literal force, it touches not the question at issue. This is one of feeling, sentiment, emotion; and cool ratiocination is out of place. The heart is the fitting advocate here, and its unprompted and untaught suggestions supersede all argument. Even a stranger's grave is not to us as the common earth; and the spot where the ashes of our departed friends repose is ever held in cherished consecration. We are not, and as a general fact, we cannot be, indifferent to the treatment of our own remains, even when they have mingled with the clod of the valley. The well known Oriental form of salutation, — "may you die among your kindred," — has a deep significance to which the soul responds, not only because we desire that our final trial should be passed in the midst of friendly affection and sympathy, and that our fainting sight should rest last upon those we have loved the best; but also because we would commend to their willing and pious care the poor remains of what was once most intimately a part of ourselves, and hope they will hold in hallowed remembrance the places where they lie.

But the appropriate Burial of the Dead, we further observe, is enforced by considerations of a different, and most imperious character. All sentiment apart, it is a subject that *must* be cared for, in reference to the common weal. It is a *public necessity that must be met.* Our only choice is, whether the relics of the departed shall be "buried out of our sight," with decency and reverence, and with those appropriate rites and

observances, which are equally due to the dead, and edifying and consolatory to the living, or whether they shall be hurried away and disposed of anywise and anywhere, as the most obvious convenience may suggest, as an offence and an annoyance. The busy industry of the great Destroyer leaves us no other alternative. The earth is literally sown with the mortal remains of human beings. The details on this point must be somewhat startling to those foolish persons, who say to themselves, "to-morrow shall be as this day." It has lately been computed, from a series of observations, by a competent inquirer, that the whole population of the earth, which is now supposed to be between nine and ten hundred millions of inhabitants, dies in thirty three years, which gives fifty-five deaths for every successive minute, or nearly one for every second of time.* If we apply a similar calculation to all past ages

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* We here subjoin our authority for this estimate. It is taken from an article in the Edinburgh Medical and Surgical Journal, Oct. 1840, p. 507. It is given on the authority of Dr. Bellefroid, and purports to be an abstract of papers in the *Bulletin Medicale Belge, for Aug. and Nov.* 1839. "It is generally considered, that a generation lasts from 30 to 33 years, and that three generations are comprised in one age or century. This opinion seems to be confirmed by the recent researches made at Paris, by M. Villot, Keeper of the Archives of France, from which it appears, that the duration of a generation among the male sex, has been very nearly 33⅓ years. Dr. Bellefroid remarks, that the number, which expresses the mean duration of life of any people, expresses also the length of a generation. This is a self-evident statement. In Belgium, both of these correspond, being for the duration of a generation 30 years, and the same number expresses the average duration of human life. The number of deaths per annum amounted to 102,188, allowing 279 for each day, and 11.63 for each hour. Dr. Caspar, who had the patience to make a similar calculation for the whole earth, has estimated the total population at 960,000,000, and the mean duration of life at 33 years. From these data, *the last of which is unquestionably too high*, he computes that 29,000,000, die every year, 80,000 every day, about 3,300 every hour, and 55 every minute."

A very intelligent friend, has furnished us with the following calculation, which is formed partly from other data.

Population of England and Wales, (1838,)	15,553,850
Registered deaths in 1838, were	342,529
That is, one death for every $45\frac{41}{100}$ of the inhabitants.	
Population of Boston in 1840,	93,401
Deaths in 1840	1,972
That is, one death for $47\frac{36}{100}$ of the inhabitants.	

But as the probability is that the rate of mortality is greater in the whole earth, than it is in the above countries, we may assume, that

since men have lived on this earth, we shall at once see that —

> "all who tread
> The Globe, are but a handful to the tribes
> That slumber in its bosom."

In the vicinity of Alexandria, of Cairo, and indeed of all the principal cities of Egypt, catacombs containing the relics of the population of past ages extend acres after acres, for many miles. It is supposed by an intelligent writer,* that the whole space between the borders of the Lake Mœris and Gizeh was one vast cemetery. In the Necropolis, near ancient Thebes, it is computed, that eight or ten millions of the dead lie, in like manner inhumed. At Paris, when the churches and burial grounds were cleared,† the relics of ten generations were piled up promiscously, in the quarries beneath that city. Indeed, the necessity of making an appropriate provision for the sepulture of the departed, is obvious in regard to great and crowded cities. As these ordinarily spring from small beginnings, this necessity is not at first felt. But it is one which continually increases with their growth, and at last becomes intolerable. Authentic details on this subject are shocking and loathsome. We refer as briefly as possible, by way of illustration, to a few facts. The Campo Santo, near Naples, is composed of three hundred and sixty five pits or wells, vaulted at the top, and closed by a flat stone. One of these is opened at midnight, every

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one in 40 dies annually. Suppose, then, the inhabitants of the whole earth to be 800,000,000, we obtain the following results.

20,000,000 die in one year.
1,750,000 die in one month.
384,615 die in one week.
54,795 die in one day.
2,283 die in one hour.
38 die in one minute.

This calculation, it is obvious, and as our friend suggests, is much below the fact.

As we learn a petition of the Mass. Medical Society, in conjunction with the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, relating to a more correct register of deaths, &c. in this State is to be presented to the next Legislature; we take this opportunity of expressing an earnest wish, that it may be favorably received.

* In the Quarterly Review, No. 38.

† A. D. 1786.

night in the year, and the dead bodies, which are to be buried at the public expense, are thrown in. "When I visited it," says a friend, "some years ago, the keeper in attendance, for a fee, lifted off the last night's stone, and exhibited the contents of the pit, which were six or eight recent bodies, entirely naked, thrown in the preceding night, and resting on a pile of skeletons, the accumulation of previous years. One recoils in terror lest the vaulting should give way, and make him a premature inmate of the place." In Rome, at the head of the Corso, near the Piazza del Populo, the most crowded and populous street in the city, atrocities of a similar kind, but more shocking and horrible, are continually committed.* In Paris, until the present century, the mass of the dead was buried within the limits of the city, to the number of twenty thousand bodies, in a narrow sepulchre, badly covered, badly aired, badly preserved, without order, taste, or decency. The wealthy, indeed, might purchase a resting place for their relics after death, in the vaults of a church; but as for the bodies of the poor, they were indiscriminately thrown into common pits or fosses, whence within a few years, and in some cases, before decomposition had wholly taken place, they were torn out of even this wretched resting place, to make room for others. Since 1804, however, public attention has been effectually called to this subject, and the large and highly adorned cemeteries of de L'Est, Mont-Louis, (commonly called Père la Chaise) Montmartre, Mont-Parnasse, and Vaugirard, have been established.† In London, abominations similar to the above have been, and *are* continually practised. There are indeed, at this time, cemeteries without the city, where decent burial spots may be obtained by those who are able to pay for them. But the expense attending burial in these appropriate places of sepulture puts them out of the reach of the poorer classes of the community. Their dead are still often thrust into pits in the centre of the city, which are already full to repletion with the yet undecayed corpses of former years, and which, in many instances, are scarcely separated from the living by a scanty covering of boards, or by a few inches of earth. And even in this horrible plight they are not suffered to remain undisturbed, but are, not unfrequently,

* See "Political State of Italy, by T. Lyman, Jr."

† Le veritable Guide et Conducteur aux Cemetières, par M. M. Richard et * * *. Preface.

in their half consumed state, thrown out to make room for the new contributions that Death is ever levying, and which, in their turn, are soon to give place to others which will rest no more securely than they. We feel bound to authenticate these statements by a few details, noisome as they are, even in the remotest allusion, and especially, because the parties most interested have studiously endeavored to conceal them. They have lately been laid open to view by an English writer of the highest credit, and who deserves honor at all hands for his philanthropic labors in this cause, we do not say, of common humanity, but of common decency. And this we do the rather, because his efforts have been coldly received in his own country. We take our facts from Mr. Walker's "Gatherings from Grave Yards."* In the vicinity of *Clement's Lane*, within a distance of about two hundred yards, in a direct line, there are four burying-grounds; and the "living here breathe on all sides an atmosphere impregnated with the odor of the dead. * * * Typhus fever in its aggravated form has attacked by far the majority of the residents, and death has made among them the most destructive ravages." The soil of the Burying-ground in *Portugal Street*, is "saturated with human putrescence." The graves are not unfrequently desecrated here, the coffins dug up, and smashed before they are decayed, the plates and ornaments removed, and many wagon loads of human bones disinterred and carried to an obscure pit or receptacle, where they are promiscously heaped up or buried, or from whence they are carted away, by tons at a time, to be ground up for agricultural purposes. In *Enon Chapel*, vast numbers of bodies have been placed in pits dug for the purpose, the uppermost of which are covered only by a few inches of earth. An accompaniment of this burying-place is a "common sewer, that runs angularly across it." In *Drury Lane* Burying-ground, there is a pit, where many bodies at different periods have been deposited, which is covered only with boards, leaving an "unroofed charnel house of putridity and corruption." Similar atrocities may be witnessed at *St. Giles* church-yard, in that of *Oldgate* (where also recently two men were killed by the effluvia which arose on opening a grave), at that of *Whitechapel* Church, and at those of *Spitalfields* and *Bethnal*

* Not having seen the original, we quote from Mr. Collison's book above mentioned — beginning at p. 135.

Green, and others. All this horrid wrong to the dead, and obscene and brutal insult to the living, is perpetrated, be it remembered, now in the nineteenth century, and in the very heart of a city, which claims to be one of the most magnificent, refined, and moral in the universe! In our own country, and even in our largest cities, we have not, as yet, been *quite* driven to these revolting practices, in the treatment of the dead. And happily, as will be seen, in another part of this paper, precautions have been taken to guard against the necessity of such outrages for many years to come. Still it is not difficult to cite instances, of no unusual occurrence, that would leave us small grounds of self-complacency on this subject.

From these facts it is sufficiently evident, that the care of the Remains of the Dead is an imperious, and ever recurring duty of the living. Placing the subject thus in the lowest point of view, it presents a case of absolute necessity, which they must meet and obviate, as they best may; and they are urged by every motive of decency and propriety to take reverent heed, that the remains of those multitudes, that are ever thronging down to the "mighty congregation of the dead," should at least remain *secure* there from vulgar exposure, and find, whatsoever may have been the troubled history of their lives, an undisturbed repose in the grave.*

We are aware, indeed, that all our pious care even for the *security* of our places of sepulture may be unavailing. The most stupendous piles, that human affection or human folly

* This, according to Sir William Scott, does not, as a matter either of fact or of right, belong to an English subject. In an elaborate and carefully studied opinion, delivered in the Consistory Court of London, in answer to an argument of counsel, "that the ground once given to the interment of a body is appropriated forever to that body; that it is not only the *domus ultima*, but the *domus æterna* of that tenant, who is never to be disturbed, be the condition of that tenant what it may;" — he replies, — "there surely cannot be an inextinguishable title, a perpetuity of possession, belonging to a perishable thing; * * * the fact is, that 'man' and 'forever' are terms quite incompatible in any state of his existence, dead or alive, in this world." And again, "with reference to men, the *domus æterna*, is a mere flourish of rhetoric." He concludes that — "the legal doctrine is, and remains unaffected, that the common cemetery is not *res unius ætatis*, the exclusive property of one generation now departed; but is likewise the common property of the living, and of generations yet unborn, and subject only to *temporary appropriation*." — Gilbert *v.* Buzzard et al., 3 Vol. Phil. Rep. 357.

has reared, have not sufficed to ensure even so much as this. They have, on the contrary, often only served to tempt the cupidity of the invader, or afford a mark for the poor malice of foes. Those sepulchral urns, in which the ancients hoped to hold consecrate forever the ashes of their departed friends, are now found in no holier places than the museums of the curious, or in the cabinets of the antiquarian. Egyptian Mummies, over which Pyramids have been piled, and which, as Sir Thomas Browne * says, "Cambyses or time hath spared, avarice now consumeth. Mummy has become merchandise, Myzraim cures wounds, and Pharaoh is sold for balsams." † The common fuel of the dwellers on the banks of the Nile, at the present day, is said to be the embalmed bodies of their ancestors. The Arabs use the mummy cases for firewood, and "an epicurean traveller may cook his breakfast with the coffin of a king." A chamber of one of the catacombs, near Alexandria, is actually now used as a stable for one of the Pacha's regiments

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* HYDRIOTAPHIA, URN BURIAL; or a Discourse on the Sepulchral Urns lately (A. D. 1658) found in Norfolk. In none of the Essays, perhaps, of this rich and graphical writer, is the fine observation of Coleridge concerning him better illustrated than in this. — "He sees everything in a light of his own, reading neither by sun, moon, or candle-light, but by the light of the fœry glory around his own head."

† Two centuries ago, Mummy was an essential part of the *Materia medica*, and placed as one of the common drugs in the shops of the apothecaries. The demand for it, at one period, was so great, that it exceeded the supply of the genuine article, and counterfeits of it were made. Some Jews, by a summary process, made mummies *ex tempore*, for the purpose of furnishing a large supply of this article. The Dramatic poet Shirley refers to this; —

"Make mummy of my flesh, and sell me to the apothecaries."
The Bird in a Cage. (1633.)

Lord Bacon says, ("Sylva Sylvarum," Century X. s. 980), "*Mummy* hath great force in stanching of blood; which, as it may be ascribed to the mixture of balms that are glutinous; so it may also partake of a secret propriety, in that the blood draweth man's flesh."

"*Mummy*," says Boyle, "is one of the useful medicines commended and given by our Physicians for falls and bruises, and in other cases too." (Works, Vol. II. p. 451.)

See for a further account of "Mummy as a Drug" "A History of Egyptian Mummies, &c.," by Thomas Joseph Pettigrew, London: 1834, 8vo., — a work from which we have derived some facts, especially in regard to the funeral ceremonies of the Egyptians, and for which we make this general acknowledgment, once for all.

of horse. The march of armies, and the violence of civil commotions abroad, have held in small respect the dust of the departed. The royal Sepulchre of St. Denis, where the French kings of nine centuries were entombed, and whose wonders, according to Chateaubriand, "taught strangers a profound veneration for France," was violated and destroyed, amongst the kindred atrocities of the French Revolution. The lead composing the coffins was melted into bullets for the army, and their contents, including the bodies of Henry IV., and Louis XIV., yet remaining almost entire, and clearly recognised, were thrown into a common pit. Here in our own country, as is well known, the busy hand of enterprise, that holds little as sacred which stands in its way, recognises nothing absolutely inviolable in the Burial Places of the Dead. A turnpike, or a canal, or a rail-road, would find no insuperable barrier to their progress in the sacredness of the Grave-yard. But even though the tomb were safely secured from external violence, yet by the silent approaches of time, it is continually wasted away. If we visit almost any of our older burying-places, we shall find in the sunken graves, in the rank grass, and unsightly weeds, in the dilapidated tombs, in the prostrated, half-buried, moss-covered headstones, — nay, sometimes, in the coffinless and publicly exposed bones of the deceased, that time, who "antiquates all antiquities," respects not the dead more than the living, and that at any rate, the care that has been hitherto bestowed on this subject has not rendered sacred and secure, for any long period, the remains of departed friends.* Still it is a duty that natural feeling prompts,

* The lucid statement of the Trustees of the small, but beautiful Cemetery at Worcester in this State, as quoted in the "Address" of Governor Lincoln, well illustrates this. "The state, into which they (the other Burial Grounds) have fallen, shows little reverence or regard for those who sleep beneath their sods. There are not within our territory, any outlots or distant appendages of any of the farms, more rough, overgrown with brambles, bushes, and weeds, more desolate or forbidding, than our Burial Places. Indeed, amid the neat cultivation around, they seem the only spots, which are entirely neglected and abandoned to decay." And the author of the address truly subjoins "the dilapidated wall of the 'Old Grave Yard' is not even a defence against the inroads of the stray cattle of the streets, *while the public situation of the place, in the centre of the Common, and with roads on all sides, exposes it to every mean and vulgar encroachment of man.*" We italicise these words, since they may be taken generally, and indeed with very few exceptions, as descriptive of the burial places of our country.

and decent respect requires, that we render them as inviolable as we may. We would, at any rate, have them remain undisturbed while we ourselves live; and when it becomes our turn to take our places by their side, we cannot but desire, that our dust, like theirs, may be permitted to rest in peace.

But our interest for the Remains of the Departed is not confined to their *security* alone. We would also confer upon them some fitting honor, and we take a melancholy pleasure in rearing visible emblems of that worth, which can henceforth only be recognised in the remembrance of surviving friends. We would mark the spot where they lie by every appropriate memorial and adornment, as henceforth consecrate to tender recollections, to self-inquiry, to the suggestive lessons of the past, to good purposes for the future, to thoughtful views of the present life, and to those hopes and aspirations, which, by the gracious efficacy of a Christian Faith, are made to "blossom even in the dust." We know, indeed, that this care in perpetuating the memory of the departed, like that which we use to secure their remains, cannot be long availing. The enclosure by which we attempt to separate sacred from common dust, will soon be overthrown. The decaying head-stone needs to be rechiselled in less than half a century. The trees long outlast the graves which they were placed to adorn. The remains of countless myriads rest beneath the earth, which has, ages since, ceased to bear the slightest external mark of their existence. "Who can but pity," adds the affluent and racy old writer above quoted, "the Founder of the Pyramids." * * * "In vain, too, we compute our felicities by the advantage of our good names, since the bad have equal duration, and Thersytes is as like to live as Agamemnon." * * * "Twenty seven names make up the first story before the flood." * * * "Five languages secured not the Epitaph of Gordianus." Indeed all biography is little more than a slightly varied obituary.

> "The annals of the human race,
> Their ruins since the world began,
> Of them afford no other trace
> Than this,—*there lived a man!*"

But still the thought of the short duration, at the longest, of these memorials of our departed friends, deducts nothing from the interest we feel in rearing them. The absolute impossibility of all attempts to give a long perpetuity to the memory

of those we have lost, has no relevancy to those emotions which lead us to hallow the spot of their sepulture. We expect here no immunity from that law of decay that is enstamped upon all things earthly. But we seek in this to gratify a present feeling, which we can neither worthily stifle or disavow, —to hold in peculiar sacredness the place, where all that remains of what was ineffably dear to us reposes, and where what is mortal of ourselves is soon to lie down in the dreamless slumber of the grave.

But there is another and distinct class of considerations by which an appropriate Burial of the Dead is enforced, which are of a yet higher and more concerning character. It should not only be such as true and natural *feeling* for the departed suggests, but may and should be made tributary to the *improvement* of survivors; and we are wanting, we may be sure, in the common seriousness of human nature, if we have not felt that the grave has lessons to teach us, that we can learn nowhere else.* Some of these, then, demand from us, at least, a passing notice.

In referring to those *moral uses*, that are suggested by the sepulture of our departed friends, we speak, we think, to the universal experience of men, when we say, that if there be a spot on the broad earth, and beneath the all-embracing sky, where the heart becomes unwontedly serious; where the interests of this life are seen in their real character and in their relative position; where its illusions vanish away; where undue excitements are abated; and where its true aims and issues are revealed, — it is the place of graves. Here — how obvious and yet how home-felt is the suggestion! — here repose those, who, but as yesterday, were as active, as earnest, as engrossed in things "seen and temporal," as we are now. Their emotions were as lively, their pursuits as ardent, their

* This has always been recognised by persons of ordinary thoughtfulness. St. Chrysostom thus refers to it in Babylon Mart. "Post sermonis facultatem ipsa certe Sanctorum sepulchra proximum locum obtinet ad animos hominum in ipsos Sanctos intuentium, ad virtutum earundem æmulationem excitandos." It was a practice of early times to carry royal youths to the tombs of their worthy ancestors. Julius Cæsar, according to Lucan, visited the tomb of Alexander the Great, with especial interest, and the Emperor Augustus, when he visited Alexandria, made this the first object of inquiry, and placed there a garland of flowers.

passions as strong, their competitions as fierce as ours. But these have all now ceased. The brief story of life has been told. The follies, the pleasures, the pursuits of this present state, are with them all over. "The lust of the flesh, the lust of the eyes, and the pride of life," are all passed away.

> "Shall we build to ambition? ah no!
> Affrighted he shrinketh away;
> For see, they would pin him below
> In a small, narrow cave, and begirt with cold clay,
> To the meanest of reptiles a peer and a prey."

Envy has now ceased to carp at the desert it could not rival; anger no longer burns; hatred forgets to plot; the "itching palm" of avarice is cold; simulation is weary of feigning; dissimulation is tired of concealing; pretension has strutted its little hour; vanity has achieved all its petty triumphs; and the busy tongue of calumny is still — at last. And does the night of death, we involuntarily ask, so soon settle down upon the short day of human life; and shall we plan long designs for a space so brief? — Does not, rather, the simple thought of the transientness of mere earthly cares and emotions, which is thus pressed, as a cold weight, upon the heart, at every step we take among the graves of the departed, serve to qualify and chasten betimes, an over-mastering interest in any present object?

But if the place of graves be peculiarly fitted to excite chastened views of the present life, and, indeed, of its essential nothingness, viewed as an entire and completed scheme; it is not less friendly to those higher aspirations, which centre on what is truly worthy and enduring in character. While we linger with painful regret over the relics of what was once inexpressibly dear to us, we are yet assured that all that was truly *theirs* and *them* is not also dead, but lives on in an undying life. And if it be our privilege to connect with their memories much good that they have intended and done, their pure affections and virtuous lives, — these we know are not buried in the dust, but are still cherished in our hearts, as valued treasures there, and are safer yet in the remembrance of God. In the solemn verse of Milton we find utterance to this thought; —

> "Thy works, and alms, and all thy good endeavor
> Staid not behind, nor in the grave were trod,

But as Faith pointed with her golden rod,
Followed thee up to joy, and bliss forever."

And as it is the natural effect of elevated worth, in all cases, to inspire a kindling sentiment of emulation, so that "upon which death has set its seal," is peculiarly impressive. It is, to our apprehensions, at once purer and more hallowed than any living example of kindred excellence. Those slight blemishes which nearness and familiarity are continually revealing in the brightest character here below, and which serve to dim, though they may not tarnish its lustre, all disappear when it is viewed through the darkness of the grave and in the distance of eternity. It is henceforth regarded, moreover, now that the stress and strain of life are over, with something of that sacredness which belongs to things "not seen and eternal." It is an often quoted saying of Themistocles, that the monuments of departed heroes in the grove of Academus would not permit him to sleep. And to what a worthier emulation should we, of this later time, be stirred, by the memorials of those friends, who having done and suffered well in their earthly warfare, have entered on a reversion of glory, that never so much as dawned on the mind of the heathen warrior.

The grave, too, is not only a place hallowed to cherished and animating recollections, but it is there, after the first crushing force of bereavement is passed, we love to dwell on the immortality of pure and kind affections, and to strengthen those anticipations which look to a recognition and reunion with departed friends in a future state of existence. Thoughts like these are, perhaps, never fully realized but through the stern ministry of death, and are never so emphatically suggested as by the near presence of the mortal remains of those we have loved.

Then and there we fondly cherish the conviction, that when we buried these, we did not bury those sympathies and affections which united us in life; but that, as these flowed on together, in one united stream, through all the path-ways of our earthly existence, so they will not lose themselves in the dark valley of the shadow of death, but still continue to flow on forever, when the portals of the grave are passed. We do not stop to balance arguments here; we feel that there must be an analogy between what has been, and is to be; that we cannot lose our social sympathies, without losing our identity as conscious beings; and we cannot for an instant reconcile it with the goodness of God, to think

that he would permit us, nay *oblige* us, by the very constitution of our natures, to cherish hopes so pure, so strong, and so abiding, merely as a prelude to a sad delusion; or that a love, which no distance has separated, no absence chilled, no vicissitude shaken, no adversity withered, no sickness weakened, and no decay impaired, should be cut off and destroyed forever; and just at that moment too, when it had acquired its highest strength, and had gained its closest hold upon the heart. Thus we mourn the departed not as "lost, but gone before," and linger over the memorials that affection rears, as tokens of the living rather than of the dead, as types and symbols of an imperishable love.

These thoughts, moreover, of the immortality of the affections, and of the reunion of friends after death, are intimately connected with our duties to the living. They give a new aspect to all our social relations, and confer upon our homes particularly, where these relations are the most intimate, a peculiar sacredness. They appear, when thus seen, in connexion with these ultimate results, in a holier light, and as fraught with more concerning references than can belong to any merely earthly ties. We regard them no longer as merely civil institutions, which are fenced round by a temporal authority; not merely as convenient resting places, where a few persons may meet in confidence and in comparative retirement, to wear away, as they may or can, a short term of life; — but they are valued as select and sacred retreats, where the purest affections are sanctioned by the holiest ties, and a present enjoyment is but the prelibation of a future blessedness. Thus connected with the future in reversion, they are viewed as first schools in the preparation of the heart for a higher culture, as nurseries of piety for an everlasting home. And while an unspeakable significance and depth of interest are thus imparted to our social and domestic relations, it is felt with peculiar impressiveness at that spot, which reminds us of their present transitory nature.

And our duties to survivors are taught in another, and most solemn manner at the graves of the dead. There we feel, as we feel nowhere else, all our neglect of their claims; our disregard of their feelings; every instance of our unkindness; our severe constructions of their innocent conduct; our chilly reception of their offered kindness; our unsympathizing bearing; our selfish preference of our tastes to theirs; our neglect of

grateful courtesies; — all, all come up into an accusing remembrance; and all, moreover, are heightened and aggravated by the thought, that the time of reparation is forever gone. But while every expression of contrition is thus lost upon the "dull cold ear of death;" yet must not the unavailing anguish of hours like these teach us new lessons of social duty, new expressions of sympathy, a more tender and thoughtful considerateness for the feelings and claims of those who survive?

We must not wholly pass by, in this brief reference to the moral uses of burial places, the obvious fact, that they are peculiarly adapted to press home upon the mind the truth which most persons are equally ready to admit, but practically at least forget, — that the time cannot be very distant, and may be very near, when we ourselves must lie down, side by side, with those whose loss we deplore. We require, it is true, no palpable memorials of the departed, none of the strong and suggestive influences of the grave, to teach us this. Death, we know, meets us everywhere; approaches us through every avenue; makes his relentless reprisals through all the conditions and circumstances of life. Indeed "to preserve a man through so many chances and hostilities, is as great a miracle as to create him." The emblems of decay and dissolution are innumerable, reiterated in myriads of forms through the constant and ceaseless variety of change, but all fall short in depicting the precariousness of human life. But of all, perhaps, none are so emphatic monitors of this as the grave. Here the high and the low, the young and the old, the rich and the poor, the learned and the ignorant, the wise and the foolish, the happy and the wretched, the busy and the idle, the friend and the foe, the good and the bad, — all share a common lot. There, too, rest those on whom we have relied for counsel, those on whom we have leaned for support, those with whom we have mingled soul with soul, — those

> "Whom love has knit, and sympathy made one."

And here, too, is the *very spot*, thus sown with the "harvest of the human year," where our own ashes are soon to be spread in kindred dust, — and we must be insensible indeed, in such a presence and place as this, not to think of death and of ourselves at the same time.

We only add in the briefest possible words, for we fear, in thus referring to the moral influences of appropriate burial-places,

that our remarks may be assuming too homiletical a character for pages like these, that we learn most emphatically the value of those hopes, that look beyond the grave, that death, as it is revealed to us in the blessed light of our Spiritual Faith, is but an incident in continued life, and one that derives its chief importance from the fact, that it is the appointed means of introduction to that state of being, where death can never enter.

Such are some of the high uses, both in respect to the dead and the living, that burial-places, properly arranged, are fitted to subserve. We believe that they are real and important. It is their natural effect, to call forth and perpetuate feelings and sentiments, which refine and elevate the mind, and purify, while they soften the heart; to remove from spots, in themselves sad and painful, all unnecessary gloom; and to gather around them those associations, which, at the same time, serve to solemnize the soul, and render it tranquil, serene, and hopeful. We do not believe these influences are wholly lost on any. We do not believe that even those, whose minds are the most pre-occupied, the inveterate worldling, for example, or the slave of ambition, or, to take a stronger case still, the frivolous of either sex, — those hardest and most impassive of all sentient things, — could visit a well-ordered and beautiful cemetery, like our own Mount Auburn, under circumstances propitious to the appropriate influences of the place, and not come away, for the time at least, sadder it may be, but wiser and better beigns than they entered there.

We only add, on this part of the subject, that the views of the Burial of the Dead, which we have thus been led to take, are illustrated by the attention which has always been given to this subject, among all people in all climes. From the earliest historical records we learn that this subject was recognised as a subject of primary concern. The extraordinary attention which the ancient Egyptians gave to this subject is well known. According to Diodorus Siculus,* they called their houses "Inns," and bestowed upon them comparatively little attention, but denominated their tombs "Eternal Habitations." The august piles of their Pyramids, though the whole mystery that rests upon them is not yet solved, had doubtless reference to the same object. An American traveller assures us that "while

* Lib. i.

not a vestige of a habitation is to be seen, the tombs remain monuments of splendor and magnificence, perhaps even more wonderful than the ruins of their temples."* They not only excelled all other nations in the grandeur and perpetuity of their structures, which were intended to guard the bodies of the dead, but also in preserving these bodies from decay.† And even at this day, fallen, degraded, denationalized, as Egypt is, the attention yet paid there to the remains of the dead is striking and peculiar. The tomb of the Pacha is considered as the greatest structure of modern Egypt. The Hebrews also were especially careful of the Rites of Interment. To be deprived of Burial was deemed by them a marked dishonor and a great unhappiness.‡ This last office was not denied even to enemies, and was only withheld from those who had forfeited all claims to respect.§ When God foretold to Abraham the disasters which were to befal his race, he added, as a solace, "that he should be *buried* in a good old age." When Sarah, his wife, died, he importuned the sons of Heth for a place, where, in his own language,‖ he "might bury his dead out of his sight." His petition was granted, and for "four hundred shekels of silver, the field of Ephron, which was in Machpelah, which was before Mamre, and the cave that was therein, and all the trees that were in the field, that were in all the borders round about, were made sure unto him for a possession" of a burying place. Abraham, together with Rebecca, Sarah,¶ Isaac, and Jacob,** according to the promise,†† sanctioned by

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* "Incidents of Travel."

† Although the Notions which the Egyptians were the first, as is supposed, to hold, the doctrine of Metempsychosis would lead them to preserve the bodies of the dead as long as possible, either in the hope of retarding the transmigration of the soul, or preserving a receptacle for it, in its former tenement, after its return from its varied wanderings, yet it is rational to suppose their natural feelings in regard to the dead came in aid of the same design.

‡ "The dogs shall eat Jezebel * * * and there shall be *none to bury her.*" 2 Kings, ix. 10.

§ Thus, too, the rites of sepulture were denied, by the Greeks, to traitors, and persons guilty of sacrilege; by the Romans, to deserters, suicides, those who suffered on the cross, (patibulum) traitors, parricides, vestal virgins who violated their vows; and by the early Christians, to those who persisted in absenting themselves from confession and the sacraments, infidels, idolators, Jews, heretics, convicted usurers, impenitent blasphemers, &c.

‖ Gen. xxiii. ¶ Id. xxv. 9; Id. xlix. 31.

** Id. l. 13. †† Id. xlvii. 30.

the usual oath of the period, extorted from his son, were buried there; and Joseph's bones were carried into Canaan, after they had been embalmed, and kept four hundred years. David praises the men of Jabez Gilead for their pious care of the remains of their unworthy King Saul. The Jewish Scriptures threaten a denial of burial, as one of the greatest calamities. The prophet Jeremiah denounces as a punishment of idolators, that their bones should be "thrown out of their graves," and be spread "before the sun and the moon, and all the host of heaven, whom they have loved, and whom they have served, and after whom they have walked, and whom they have sought, and whom they have worshipped, and they shall not be gathered or buried." Devout men, we are told, carried St. Stephen to his burial, making great lamentation over him. And our Saviour was pleased to admit the outpouring of Mary's ointment upon his head, because "she did it for his burial." Among the Heathen nations of antiquity the same sentiment prevailed. Several Greek Dramas, which, being addressed to a popular audience, were the best possible exponents of popular feeling, turn entirely upon contests, connected with the rites of burial. The Antigone of Sophocles is an instance in point. Ulysses, in the Hecuba of Euripides, is represented as saying, that he cared not how meanly he lived, providing he might find a noble tomb after death. These rites were not omitted in the fiercest wars. The earlier Athenian commanders were punished if they neglected them, and they were observed even towards enemies. The important place they occupy in the poems of Homer is well known. The Elysian Fields, which those ancients supposed to be the residence of the blessed Manes after death, could only be entered by those, however worthy on other accounts, whose bodies had been duly buried. Hence arose the practice of erecting Cenotaphs, or empty Mausoleums, to the memory of those whose bodies could not be obtained, which monuments, in such cases, were regarded as a substitute for burial. The Romans inherited from the Greeks, and rendered yet more elaborate, these funereal rites. The ancient Germans, as we learn from Tacitus, were punctilious in those peculiar to themselves, and in more modern times, both in Europe and in the East, a similar reverence for the remains of the dead prevailed. The ancient Christians, according to St. Ambrose, esteemed the proper burial of the dead so imperative a duty, that it was deemed lawful, if necessary, to melt down

or sell the vases used in the sacred ceremonies of the church, in the fulfilment of it; thus placing it on a level with the obligation of redeeming captives, and taking care of the poor. The Chinese at the present day attend to nothing so carefully as to the tombs of their ancestors. It is almost the only thing that approaches to a religious sense among them.* And the Bedouin Arabs, amidst all their wanderings, still hold cherished and sacred their peculiar burial-places in the desert, and deem it a great misfortune not to be buried there. Now it is obvious from the very *universality* of these practices, among all people, of all ages, and of all climes, that they have their origin in the very soul of man; that they spring out of the natural fountains of sentiment in human bosoms; and that, therefore, if they be proofs of a weakness of mind, as some affect to say, it is a weakness that must be laid to the charge of HIM who created us.

Such being the uses of appropriate rites and modes of burial, and such being the attention which the subject has at all times excited; it may not be uninteresting or useless to advert to some of the more prevailing methods, in which this natural want of human bosoms has been met and answered, in different ages and climes.

The modes of burial may be reduced to two, though there are other and very curious methods of disposing of the remains of the dead, that may demand a passing notice. These are *Inhumation*, or the placing these remains in the earth; and *Cremation*, or the reducing of them to ashes.

INHUMATION, or interment in the earth, appears to have been the earliest, as it is certainly the most natural and appropriate method of burial. It probably dates back to the time when it was said to Adam, "dust thou art and unto dust shalt thou return," though the first record that exists of the practice is that of Sarah, the wife of Abraham, already referred to. Cicero says (2. De Leg.) it prevailed in Athens from the time of Cecrops. Various structures have been employed, in reference to this mode of burial. ENTOMBMENT is one of these. The most ancient *Tombs* are supposed to be those Tumuli, or immense Mounds of Earth, which are now found in almost all parts of

* The Chinese, by John F. Davis. Vol. I. p. 278.

the world. Dr. Clarke states,* that he "has seen those Sepulchral heaps in Europe, in Asia, from the Icy Sea to Mount Caucasus, over all the South of Russia, Kuban Tartary, Asia Minor, Syria, Palestine, Egypt, and part of Africa." It is well known, too, that they exist in both North and South America. Unlike other receptacles of mortal remains, they are not diminished and destroyed by a silent but inevitable progress of decay, but are continually renewed and increased by a superstitious, but not unpleasing practice that prevails of obliging every passer-by to cast a stone upon them. It is inferred that they are more ancient than the Pyramids, both on account of the greater simplicity of their structure, and from their more ancient appearance, where both are subjected to the same atmospheric influences. The PYRAMIDS and LABYRINTHS of Egypt, which are among the most extraordinary works of that land of wonders, may be here referred to. Their builders, the time of their erection, and their precise use, are equally unknown, and no light has as yet been cast on this subject by hieroglyphical researches. It is supposed, however, that they have been erected at a period later than nine hundred years before the Christian Era, since Homer, who lived at that time, spoke of the hundred gates of Thebes, but makes no allusion to them. And there seems little reason to doubt, that their main design was to cover the remains of those who projected and built them, or those of the Priests.† CATACOMBS have also been extensively employed for purposes of sepulture. These are caverns, grottoes or caves, which are found already existing in the bosom of the earth, or have been originally excavated for the procuring of building materials, or else have been made expressly for tombs. They exist in Syria, Persia, and among the most ancient provinces of the East. There are extensive ones in the Tufa mountains of Capo di Monte, near Naples, which were originally quarries, as were those in Paris, which have already been referred to. But the most remarkable are those in Egypt. Five series of these have been described, — those of Alexandria, Saccara, Silcillis, Gourna (or Quourna), and the tombs of the Kings of Thebes.

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* Dissertation on the Sarcophagus brought from Alexandria.

† Edificat (humanum ingenium) idcirco Pyramides, ut si non universa temporum spatia æquare possit, aliqua tamen quam maxime longinqua superet. J. C. Scaliger. Poet: Lib. II. cap. 20.

They are placed out of the reach of the overflow of the Nile, excluded as much as possible from the air, and removed away from the usual haunts of men. They are sometimes hewn out of solid rock, and sometimes surmounted by Pyramids. They extend in some instances, as for example, in the vicinity of Alexandria and Thebes, for miles. The learned in such matters differ, whether these, or the Pyramids, are the more ancient. Almost every city had its Necropolis, or city of the dead, of this description. Those, who wish for a lifelike description of one of these, are recommended to accompany Belzoni in one of his visits to Gourna, — the Burial-place of Thebes. — EMBALMING, though not strictly a method of sepulture, is too intimately connected with the subject to be wholly passed by. This, as is well known, is a process of preserving the bodies of the dead from decay, by means of various medicaments.* The ancient Egyptians surpassed all other people in the practice of this art, though it was not unknown to the Hebrews,† Greeks, Romans, Scythians, Persians, Arabs, Ethiopians, and ancient Peruvians. It is, however, an art entirely unknown in Egypt at the present day, and all our knowledge of it is to be drawn from ancient writers. Herodotus is the oldest and best authority, and those who desire details on this subject may consult the second book of his history, of the "Euterpe." Diodorus Siculus, who lived four centuries and a half later, relates many additional particulars. The Guanches, or the inhabitants of the Fortunate or Canary Islands, embalmed their dead in a manner resembling that of the ancient Egyptians. This practice has been sometimes resorted to in England, and with what success, may be seen in Sir Henry Halford's account of the "Disinterment of several Kings." In certain parts of Peru, bodies are naturally embalmed and preserved for ages, by the saline nature of the earth, and by the dryness of the atmosphere, circumstances, we may observe in passing, which are much more efficacious in preserving bodies from decay, than any antiseptic applications

* Those who wish for a very learned, and apparently very accurate account of this art, as well as of everything else connected with Egyptian Burial, may consult the work of Pettigrew, already referred to. The second Vol. of the second series of Wilkinson's "Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians," Chapter 16, is full of valuable information on this subject.

† Gen. l. 2, 3.

that can be made. DESICCATION, or a process of drying, is another method of preserving corpses, intimately connected with the preceding. The most remarkable example of this is near Palermo, where is situated the Cemetery, or rather the Cadavery, of the convent of the Capuchins. It is a subterraneous hall, where all the bodies of the fraternity, together with those of several persons of distinction from the city, are found in an upright posture, and habited in their accustomed dress. Some have remained undecayed for two centuries and a half. The following account of this spectacle, we subjoin for the consideration of those who prefer to make provision, either by *tombs*, or *vaults of any kind*, for the remains of the dead, where they may be *visible* or *accessible*, only remarking, that, in our opinion, it varies from those in ordinary use, only in degree of hideousness. Smith* says, that upon descending into this Cadavery, "it is difficult to express the disgust arising from seeing the human form so degradingly caricatured, in the ridiculous assemblage of distorted mummies, that are here hung by the neck in hundreds, with aspects, features, and proportions, so strangely altered by the operation of drying, as hardly to bear a resemblance to human beings. From their curious attitudes, he observes, they are rather calculated to excite derision, than the awful emotions arising from the sight of two thousand decayed mortals." Well might Sonnini say, that "a preservation like this is horrid." We need not remark particularly on more modern receptacles of the bodies of the dead, such as mausoleums, sarcophagi, vaults, and tombs, since these are all familiarly known.

CREMATION, or the Burning of the bodies of the dead, and Urn-Burial, or the collecting of their ashes in Funereal Vases, was, as we have intimated, the other practice that very generally prevailed in antiquity. This dates back to the early times of Greece, as all readers of Homer well know, and was especially used by the Athenians.† It was copied, as were many

* Memoir of Sicily and its Islands. Lond. 1824, p. 88.

† There has been much disquisition by the learned, whether this practice prevailed among the Hebrews. We shall spare our readers any critical discussion of the passages, relied upon by those who hold the affirmative of the question — viz. 1 Sam. xxxi. 12, 13; 2 Chron. xxi. 19; 2 Chron. xvi. 14; Jeremiah xxxiv. 5; Amos vi. 10. We refer to an abstract of these in the learned labors of Quenstedius, (De Sep. Vet. Cap. VII. in Gronovius, Vol. XI. p. 1257), and think they will be

other practices relating to burial, by the Romans; and prevailed also among the Northern Tribes of Europe, as appears from the accounts of Cæsar and Tacitus. Pliny denies the early prevalence of Cremation (Combustio). But in this he stands in opposition to Plato, Cicero, Virgil, and Ovid, all of whom recognise it as a very ancient rite. He also stands in opposition to himself, since he afterwards says (Lib. 14, Cap. 12), that Numa forbade that the funeral pile should be sprinkled with wine; a prohibition certainly useless, if the pile was not known nor used. But what determines this question in reference to the Romans is the law of the Twelve Tables, which prohibited both the burying and *burning* of dead bodies within the limits of the city. It was, however, not used by the Egyptians and Persians on account of objections derived from their peculiar mythology, the former regarding fire as a raging monster which devoured everything with which it came into contact, and died itself with what it last devoured; and the latter considering fire as a god, who would be contaminated by the touch of a dead body. It is not known certainly when cremation fell into disuse. It was not practised in the time of Theodosius the younger, since Macrobius who lived in his time expressly says it was not. It is supposed to have fallen into desuetude through the influence of the Christian fathers, and to have ceased with the Antonini.* "Perhaps," says Sir Thomas Brown, "Christianity fully established, gave the final extinction to these sepulchral bonfires." The practice is supposed to have had its origin in different causes. Some,† thought that

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satisfied, that the conclusion to which he arrives is the true one. This is, that the Hebrews *burnt frankincense and other odorous substances, and the couches or biers of the dead only*, while the Greeks and Romans burned these and the body also. And that even this was confined to persons of the highest distinction. In three of the above texts — viz. 2 Chron. xxi. 19, which refers to Jehoram; 2 Chron. xvi. 14, which refers to Asa; and Jeremiah xxxiv. 5, which refers to Zedekiah, it is not said, that they were burned, but only "that burnings were made for them," probably alluding to the custom above stated. In the two remaining texts the burying of the bones, *after the burning*, is so stated that it seems necessary to infer, that the burning of the body, if it took place at all, was only a partial one, and therefore wholly unlike that of the Heathens.

* We do not know Mr. Blanchard's authority for saying that "Burial was *almost uniformly* the Roman usage."—"Address," p. 11.

† See an eloquent passage in Quinctilian Decla. 10.

the action of fire was necessary to purify the soul from its earthliness, so that it might return to its primal source. Others resorted to it, for the purposes of securing the remains of the dead from insult and outrage. "To be gnawed out of our graves," says the author just quoted, "to have our skulls made into drinking-bowls, and our bones turned into pipes, to delight and sport our enemies, are tragical abominations escaped in burning burials." * * * "Again, he that hath the ashes of a friend, hath an everlasting treasure; where fire taketh leave, corruption slowly enters." As we shall have occasion to refer again to this subject, in describing the mode of Cremation, we only add here, that some were excluded from this rite. Thus the bodies of infants, as Pliny tells us, (Lib. 7, Cap. 6,) before the appearance of their first tooth, must be buried, not burned.* The place was called *Suggrundarium*, in contradistinction to *Bustum*, or funeral pile, and to *Sepulchrum*, or grave; there being no bones of a consistency to be burned, and no perceptible bulk to be inhumed. Those stricken with lightning were in like manner prohibited from Cremation, but were buried, if possible, where they fell.

We have stated that *Inhumation*, or burying the bodies of the dead in the earth, and *Cremation*, or burning these bodies, were the principal methods of disposing of them in ancient times. There have prevailed, however, other practices, to which, in the hope of giving some completeness to his account of modes of burial, we shall briefly refer. The people who lived near the Riphean mountains, according to Pliny, buried the remains of their dead in water. The Ichthyophagi, or fish-eating people about Egypt, did the same. "And water certainly," according to Sir Thomas Browne, "has proved the smartest grave, which in forty days swallowed almost

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* Juvenal also, in his 15th Satire, refers to the same fact, though Mr. Gifford in his translation seems not to have been aware of it;

"vel terra clauditur infans,
Et minor igne rogi."

His translation is —

"Some babe — by fate's inexorable doom,
Just shown on earth, and hurried to the tomb" —

in which the peculiar force of "*et minor igne rogi*" appears to be wholly overlooked.

all mankind." Some tribes of people heap up stones on the corpses of the dead. The Persian magi exposed them to dogs and wild beasts. The Ballarians crowded them into urns without burning, and heaped wood upon them. The Scythians affixed them to trunks of trees, and kept them in snow and ice. Some of the Ethiopians, removing the fleshy integuments of the dead bodies, supplied their place with plaster, and laid on this a kind of fresco, which was made to imitate the natural body. This being kept in a glazed coffin, during the space of a year, was afterwards buried without the environs of the city. The Colchians and Tartars exposed their dead to the air, tying the bodies to branches of trees, where they remained till they were dried, and then buried them. The Persians, Syrians, and ancient Arabians preserved the remains of the dead by a covering of aspheltum, wax, and honey. According to Statius and others, the body of Alexander the Great was preserved in this way; and it is said by Strabo* to be a custom common among the Babylonians. Certain people of Guinea disinter their dead, when they are supposed to have become skeletons, and then decorate these ghastly remains with feathers and ornaments, and hang them up in their houses. The Chinese often preserve the bodies of parents, carefully guarded from the air, for three or four years in their houses, or in small habitations built for the purpose outside of the city, where one of the family, commonly the eldest son, presents offerings of rice, wine, and tea, and takes especial care, that the sticks of incense, called *joss sticks*, are kept constantly burning. The Æthiopians, according to Herodotus, dry the bodies of their dead, and then, making them to look as much like life as possible, by means of plaster and paint, enclose them within columns of glass or amber, or in a species of transparent fossil salt. But we need not dwell longer on these various methods of disposing of the relics of the dead. Among semi-barbarous people they vary with almost every tribe; while nations of a higher culture have almost without exception confined themselves to Inhumation or Interment in some of its various forms, or to Cremation and Urn-burial.

In connexion with these modes of burial we refer, as briefly as possible, to some of the more remarkable Rites and Forms

* Quoted by Frederic Müller, Lib. de Sepulchris Hebræorum veterum, p. 11.

in which these last offices have been performed. The earliest as well as fullest account, we have of these, is that of Homer.* But they did not differ materially from that observed by the Romans, who, indeed, copied them from the former, and which, as they will be described at length elsewhere, we pass by here, and begin our account with the Funeral Rites of the Egyptians These were very remarkable, and in some respects different from all others. Among them the following may be briefly referred to.† When any one died, the females of the family, covering their heads and faces with mud, and leaving the body in the house, ran through the streets, striking themselves, and uttering loud lamentations. Hired mourners were employed to increase these manifestations of grief. The body was then conveyed to the embalmers. The mourning family, during seventy-two days, continued their lamentations at home, singing the funeral dirge, abstaining from all amusements, suffering their hair and beard to grow, neglecting their personal comfort and appearance, in token of their grief. The body having been embalmed was restored to the family, either already placed in the mummy case, or merely wrapped in bandages. It was then "carried forth" and deposited in the hearse, and drawn upon a sledge to the sacred lake of the *Nome*, or department to which it belonged. Before the body could be finally buried, the deceased must be adjudged worthy of the last funeral rites by a tribunal, consisting of forty-two judges appointed for the purpose, who were placed in a semicircle near the bank of the sacred lake, and who examined the details of his life and character. If after due hearing the judges condemned him, his body was not permitted to cross the sacred lake, and his memory was indelibly disgraced. If, on the other hand, no charges were brought against him, or being brought, were proved to be groundless, his relatives took off the badges of mourning, and pronounced an eulogium on his virtues, but without speaking of his birth or rank, as was done in Greece, since the Egyptians thought that all their countrymen were equally noble. No one was exempted by his rank from this ordeal. Kings as well as subjects,

* The funeral of Patroclus is elaborately described in the 23d book of the Iliad.

† Diodorus Siculus, Lib. 1, 92. See also Pettigrew above cited, p. 291, also, Wilkinson, vol. 2, ch. 16. From these authorities the accounts in the text have been compiled.

the high and the low, those whom, while living, none dared to approach, and the humblest individual, were, after death, liable to be subjected to the most rigorous examination. The body was then taken across the lake, carried to the catacombs which were previously prepared, and placed in its final resting place. Other circumstances are added to this account by other writers.* It is said, there was a common burial place, called Acherusia; that there was a pit called Tartar, into which the bodies of the wicked were thrown; that a small sum was paid to the ferryman who carried the body across the lake in his boat; and that the cemetery on the further side, to which the remains of the good were consigned, was called Elisont, a word meaning a place of rest. The whole ceremony of interment is supposed to have consisted in simply depositing the prepared mummy in the appointed place, with the throwing upon it three handfuls of sand, and the utterance of three loud adieus. It is very obvious, that in these circumstances, as well as in the whole arrangement of the Grecian Pantheon, which was probably derived from the Egyptians, we find the elements of the classical Myths concerning Acheron, Tartarus, Charon, with his boat and ferriage money, and the fields of Elysium.

This subject will be continued and concluded in our next number. J. B.

Art. II. — *The Non-Resistant.*

The generation of men, now upon the stage of active life, have sometimes been charged with a want of proper respect for existing institutions, customs, and opinions. Whether there is much reason for this imputation, we shall not pretend to decide. Certainly, the fact, that a thing *is*, has not, of late, been commonly regarded as evidence conclusive that it *ought to be*. There has been manifested a disposition to reëxamine practices and opinions, and to explore thoroughly and nicely the grounds on which they profess to rest. In the progress of

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* See Lectures on Hieroglyphics, by the Marquis Spineto. London. 1829.

this searching investigation, there have been some "sandy foundations shaken;" though occasionally, perhaps, an experimenter may have mistaken the reeling of his own brain for the tottering of the fabric, which he imagined he was undermining.

There is surely no excess of real independent thought, among us. However general may be the disinclination to admit the correctness of opinions merely from their antiquity or prevalence, the greater part of mankind do, nevertheless, in these matters, proceed very much upon authority. There are probably few, comparatively, whose system of opinions can truly be said to have been elaborated and reproduced in their own minds. The creed of a particular party, sect, or individual, to which persons happen to take a fancy, or for which they have a predilection, is very apt to be adopted as a whole, without any careful and discriminating inquiry into the truth of the doctrines it embodies, in detail. Now, however much one may plume himself on his fancied independence of mind, in discarding opinions that have been generally and long received, he may yet conclusively evince his real want of independence, by adopting, without reason or consideration, some different set of opinions.

But though the case be so with the majority, still it is undeniably true, that our times are characterized by great freedom and boldness of individual speculations, political, moral, and religious, either original with their promulgators, or, as the case may be, imported fresh from beyond seas, or lately exhumed from beneath the dust of ages. This daring spirit of inquiry has deemed nothing too well settled to admit of revision; nothing too sacred for scrutiny. Doubtless, it has sometimes far overleaped the boundaries of sound discretion; yet it has also led to a nearer approximation to truth, in many cases, and to a juster estimate and appreciation of human rights and duties. Opinions and practices, that had long passed unchallenged in the world, have been shown, to the satisfaction of all candid minds, to be utterly false and vicious; and men wonder how they could so long have slumbered over errors and abuses, so flagrant, so incontrovertible, and now that they have been once brought to view, so palpable. On the other hand, opinions, that have stood the test of this keen scrutiny, will command, as they deserve, increased respect and confidence.

Among other things, the right of self-defence has been the

topic of much speculation and discussion; and it is this that we shall make the subject of our present consideration. The correctness of the prevailing views on this subject has been peremptorily denied; while other doctrines have been advanced, which have seemed to many strange and startling, and which have been denounced, with little ceremony, as extravagant and ridiculous. Those who hold these doctrines, however, appeal to the gospel for the truth of them, and stand upon that as their sufficient authority. We shall not undertake to say which party, or whether either is in the right, in this matter. Neither do we expect, what indeed we have small ambition for, to entitle ourselves to a place among that very considerate class of men, who, by carefully steering wide of opposite extremes of opinion, on all controverted points in morals, secure to themselves the satisfaction of reflecting, that they are precisely right, while every body else is in the wrong, on the one side or the other. Our purpose is, to examine the general subject of the nature and extent of the right of defence, without aiming, especially, either to sustain or to confute the doctrines held by any particular individual or class of men.

Before proceeding to discuss the subject upon its merits, we will give a brief outline of the provisions of the *law* in respect to self-defence. We do this, not because we suppose that to be necessarily right, which the law declares to be right, but chiefly, that the reader may see what those provisions are, and may be enabled, if he choose, to compare them with either the gospel rule of right, or the actual practice of mankind.*

The law, it is said, respects the passions of the human mind; and where a party himself, or any one to whom he stands in the relation of master or servant, parent or child, husband or wife, is forcibly attacked, in his person or property, it allows him to provide for himself that immediate protection, to which he is prompted by nature, and which the law cannot, at the instant, afford him. But he must take care that the resistance employed do not extend beyond mere *defence*, and the *prevention* of injury.

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* The principles of law, here stated, may be found embodied in Mr. Russell's Treatise on Crimes; and they are derived, in great part, immediately from the works of Sir Matthew Hale, Sir Michael Foster, and Sir William Blackstone. See 1 Hale's Pleas of the Crown, pp. 483, 484; Foster's Crown Law, pp. 273, 277, 290, 396; 3 Blackstone's Comm. pp. 3, 4; 4 Blackstone's Comm. pp. 181 – 192; 1 Russell on Crimes, pp. 435 – 442, 487, 538 – 551.

A man may repel force by force, in defence of his person, habitation, or property, or of the person of any other against one, who manifestly intends and endeavors, by violence or surprise, to commit a known *felony* — a forcible and atrocious crime — upon either; and if in a conflict between them he happen to kill the assailant, such killing is justifiable. The principle that runs through the law, Sir William Blackstone has remarked, seems to be, that where a crime, in itself capital, is endeavored to be committed *by force*, it is lawful to repel that force by the death of the party attempting. But no assault, however violent, will *justify* killing the assailant, under the plea of necessity, unless there be a plain manifestation of a *felonious intent*; and the party assaulted must also have been wholly without fault in bringing that necessity upon himself. In cases of *justifiable* homicide, it is to be observed, the law attaches no blame whatever to the slayer.

There is another species of homicide denominated *excusable*, which imports some fault in the party committing it, but so trivial that the law excuses such homicide from the guilt of felony, and now no punishment is inflicted upon the slayer, but a general verdict of acquittal is directed. Thus, where a man is assaulted, in a sudden brawl, he may, in some cases, protect himself by killing the assailant, and excuse the act on the ground of self-defence. But to entitle himself to this plea, he must show that before the mortal stroke was given, he had declined all further combat, and that he then killed his adversary through mere necessity, in order to avoid immediate death. The law requires that the party attacked shall have retreated as far as he conveniently can, by reason of some wall, ditch, or other impediment, or as far as the fierceness of the assault will permit, before turning upon his assailant; — and that not feignedly, or in order to watch his opportunity, but from a real tenderness of shedding his brother's blood. Under the plea of self-defence, husband and wife, parent and child, master and servant, killing an assailant in the necessary defence of each other respectively, are excused.

Homicide in self-defence borders very nearly upon *manslaughter*, in the proper legal sense of the word. The true criterion for distinguishing the two, is stated to be this. Where both parties are actually combating at the time the mortal stroke is given, the slayer is guilty of manslaughter; but if one of them has not begun to fight, or having begun, endeavors to decline

any further struggle, and afterwards, being closely pressed by his antagonist, kills him to avoid his own destruction, that is homicide excusable in self-defence. Manslaughter is the unlawful killing of another, but without malice either express or implied; and it is the absence of all malice that distinguishes this crime from murder. It is, nevertheless, a felony, and is punished usually by imprisonment or fine. An assault made with violence or circumstances of indignity upon a man's person, and resented immediately by the party acting in the heat of blood, upon such provocation, and killing the aggressor, will reduce the crime to manslaughter; but it will not be so extenuated by any trivial provocation, nor, in all cases, even by a blow. No breach of a man's word or promise, no trespass upon property, no affront by bare words or gestures, however false and malicious, and aggravated by whatever provoking circumstances, will free the party killing from the guilt of murder, if a deadly weapon was used, or an intention to kill, or to do some great bodily harm, was otherwise manifested. And however great the provocation may have been, if sufficient time has intervened for passion to subside, and reason to interpose, homicide under such circumstances will be murder. So also, where the provocation was sought by the party killing, and induced by his own act, in order to afford him a pretence for wreaking his vengeance upon the other, or where there is evidence of express malice, the plea of provocation will, in no instance, be of any avail. In cases of slight provocation, if it can be reasonably collected from the weapon used, or from any other circumstance, that the party intended to kill, or to inflict some severe bodily injury, such homicide will amount to murder. The material inquiry here is, whether malice must be inferred from the kind of chastisement, from the manner in which it was inflicted, and from the nature of the instrument employed.

From this summary statement of its leading principles upon the subject, it will be perceived, that the law tolerates forcible measures solely for the purpose of defence and for the prevention of injury; and does, in no wise, countenance them as an indulgence of revenge. It admits no right in a person, who has been insulted or injured, but is in no present actual danger, to take it upon himself to chastise the offender. It authorizes the use of force on the ground of necessity alone; and it knows no necessity for a man to revenge wrongs already suffered, but only to protect himself against injuries threatened and impend-

ing. Moreover, the force employed for such defence must be reasonably proportioned to the necessity which justifies its use, and it must not be exercised beyond the actual continuance of that necessity. Some indulgence the law allows to human infirmity, where a man in the first transport of passion, and while smarting under a sense of extreme provocation, violently resents the injury or indignity to which he has been subjected. But no provocation, however great, is admitted to be any palliation of an act of revenge and chastisement committed by the injured party after his reason had regained its sway. The principle is, that what a man does deliberately and advisedly, he must answer for, or show some necessity to justify or excuse it.

We will now proceed to consider the subject on general principles, irrespective of all provisions of positive law; — having first, however, adverted to a few authorities to show what views have been and are entertained in respect to it. The right to defend one's self has generally been regarded as one of the clearest natural rights. Cicero has said, it is not a written, but a natural law; which we have not learned, received, or read, but have caught, extracted, and imbibed from very nature; to which we were not schooled, but made; not trained up, but constituted; that if one's life be in danger from fraud or violence, from the weapons of robbers or of enemies, he may use all fair and honorable means to secure his safety.* The right of self-defence, Grotius observes, "arises directly and immediately from the care of our own preservation, which nature recommends to every one, and not from the injustice or crime of the aggressor;" for, even if he be in no fault, this right, nevertheless, remains the same.† In the exercise of the right in question, it has been said, "the party attacked or aggrieved is entitled, by any means effectual and necessary, to preserve or recover his state."‡ And it is stated by Dr. Paley, that "there is one case in which all extremities are justifiable; namely, where our life is assaulted, and it becomes necessary for our preservation to kill the assailant."§

Views differing materially from those just stated are entertained by individuals, as well as by certain sects and classes of

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* Oration for Milo, 4, (11.)
† Rights of War and Peace, Book 2, ch. 1, sec. 3.
‡ Ferguson's Moral and Political Science, Vol. 2, Pt. 2, ch. 3, sec. 13.
§ Mor. and Polit. Phil., Book 4, ch. 1.

men, at the present day. It has been said by a late distinguished philanthropist, that, "in the mysterious providence of God, the law of violence and retaliation was universally tolerated, and often directly employed by God himself, in the moral government of the world, until the advent of the Prince of Peace; but from that moment the law of individual and civil morals, was absolutely and forever changed."* And such we presume to be the doctrine held by the society of Friends generally. It is one of the articles of faith of the Oberlin Non-Resistant Society, and one which, it is supposed, is held by Non-Resistants, in general, that "the precepts of Christ forbid all resistance to our fellow-men by force."†

Whether the right of self-defence exists, sanctioned moreover by a duty, and if so, how far that right extends, and by what means it is to be asserted, are questions which we will now examine. What we see and know of the matter indicates, that man is the work of a wise and benevolent Creator. As such, he may fairly be presumed to have been designed for some useful and kind object; and it becomes him, as a rational creature, to use his best endeavors to fulfil the purpose of his being. To this end, he must exercise all proper and reasonable care to preserve that life and those powers and faculties, which are the essential instruments of his usefulness. He has certain physical wants that must be supplied. His body requires to be recruited and refreshed by food, drink, and sleep, and to be protected from the inclemency of the weather. His sensations admonish him of these wants, and suggest the means of relieving them; and few, we suppose, will doubt, that it is his duty, in obedience to these admonitions of the senses, to provide for those physical necessities, which his well-being requires should be supplied. So, too, man has an instinctive desire of preservation and safety; and he feels a spontaneous and irrepressible impulse to avert whatever will cause him bodily injury and pain. And it will be equally admitted to be his duty, in compliance with this natural dictate, to use all reasonable precautions against danger arising from contact with inanimate things, or from the attacks of furious animals, and the like. He who, being possessed of the honest and appropriate means, should wilfully neglect to employ those means to preserve his

* Grimké's Address on the Principles of Peace, pp. 26, 27.
† See the Non-Resistant, Vol. 2, p. 65.

life, in such cases as we have supposed, and should voluntarily suffer himself to die of starvation, or to be destroyed by some violence which he might well have avoided, would incur scarcely less guilt than if he had purposely put an end to his life by his own violent act.

Suppose, now, the danger to be apprehended from a fellow-man. Is there anything in that circumstance, which renders it less the duty of the party endangered, to make use of proper means for his protection? We will suppose a person to be in imminent peril of his life, from such a cause, and that he might escape from the assailant, by flight, without the abandonment of any duty; but that he, though well knowing his danger, chooses to remain, and is struck down. It is not easy to perceive wherein his conduct is less culpable, in this case, than if he had voluntarily suffered himself to be crushed by a falling tree or wall, or to be torn in pieces by a wild beast, rather than be at the pains to move out of the way. God has granted to no man an immunity to destroy or injure his fellows, nor has he given any intimation of his pleasure, that we should be less careful to protect ourselves from this species of violence than from any other. The assailant, in the case supposed, intends and endeavors an infraction of his own obligation to exercise the offices of peace, and a violation of the rights of his neighbor; and if this latter can, without injuring any one, simply by withdrawing from the danger, at once preserve his own rights, and take from the other the opportunity of doing the evil he meditates, there is good reason that he should do so.

And if it be the right and duty of a man to save himself from danger by flight, he may for the same purpose, justly, as we think, resort, if necessary, to certain other means, which would properly be called forcible resistance; such as, if he be able, seizing his assailant, and forcibly restraining him from doing harm; or wresting his weapons from him; or, if needful and practicable, calling in other persons to his aid. In either of these ways, one might, perhaps, effect his own safety, without doing any actual injury to the violent party, who surely could have little cause to complain, if some of the consequences, at least, were averted, that would have ensued from the execution of a purpose, which it was guilt enough in him to have conceived.

Nay, more, where from a sudden attack one is in imminent danger of suffering death or some great calamity, and there

appears to be no other possible means of safety, we see no reason why he may not be justified in disabling the assailant, by inflicting upon him bodily hurt, — taking care, however, so far as the circumstances of the case will permit, to do him the least degree of harm, that will cause him to desist from his violent attempt, or will enable himself to escape. Possibly the wrongdoer might be deterred from his wicked design, by an injury trifling in amount, and temporary in its nature; or even, if he should be seriously and permanently maimed, it would be better, humanly speaking, than that an innocent person should have perished by his hands, and himself have suffered death as the penalty of his crime.

Should it be said, in regard to such cases, that if God desires and wills our safety, he will doubtless interpose to preserve us, it must be remembered that God works by means. It is by the right use of the powers and faculties he has furnished us, that we are to protect ourselves from detriment, and we are not to expect his direct and special interference in our favor. It would argue a singular perversion of mind, to say, for instance, it was the will of God, that one should die of starvation while he had food in abundance, but refused to eat; or that he should die of violence when he might, but would not get out of harm's way. Nor do we perceive what difference it can make, in this respect, whether the violence proceed from a furious man, or a furious beast, or from collision with a mass of inanimate matter, — supposing it to be equally in the power of the individual, in each case, to preserve himself from it. The true view of the matter we take to be, to consider it the will of God, that we should use, — with discretion indeed, and with a just regard to the nature of the case, and the rights of others, — but still use the means he has given us for our preservation and protection, and then leave the result with the great Disposer of events.

If it be objected to the use of force for one's protection, that we are not to "do evil that good may come;" we reply, that the using of physical force is not necessarily doing evil. It would not be considered doing evil in one who should prevent some dreadful calamity, by staying the hand of a maniac, or of a man who was on the eve of bringing upon another, unintentionally and by mere misadventure, some grievous bodily injury. How then should it become so, if there be superadded an evil and malicious intent on the part of him who is about to commit the injurious act? And, whether even the inflicting of actual

bodily pain and hurt, be doing evil or not, will depend much on the motive by which the person inflicting it is actuated, and the end he has in view. It is not the mere corporal act, but chiefly the intention that is to be regarded. No one, for example, would think of charging a surgeon with doing evil in amputating a limb, for the purpose, and when that was the only way, of saving the patient's life. Yet the loss of a limb is not, in itself, an absolute good, but a great evil; but when considered as the means of averting a far greater evil — the loss of life — it becomes comparatively a good. So, disabling a robber or an assassin, by doing him bodily injury, is not a good, in itself considered, yet, so far as we can judge, it is a good in comparison, if it be the means of saving the life of an innocent person, and that of the offender also. It may be said, and truly, that the party who, in defence of himself, wounds or otherwise hurts his assailant, cannot, in general, be supposed to do it from mere regard to the good of the latter. He may, however, well do so, at least without a particle of ill-will towards him, or any desire to injure him; being actuated by no worse motive than an instinctive impulse to self-preservation, and using as much care as the case will allow, to do the other the least amount of harm that will be effectual for the purpose intended.

But while we maintain that in some cases, and to a certain extent, one may justly employ physical force, when it is indispensable for his own protection, we can by no means admit it to be the duty or the right of a man, to resort to all possible expedients for the preservation even of his life. The right to use the means of self-preservation is not absolute and unlimited, but there are bounds beyond which, certainly, no one can rightfully go. It is laid down by Lord Chief Justice Hale, that, "if a man be desperately assaulted, and in peril of death, and cannot otherwise escape, unless to satisfy his assailant's fury, he will kill an innocent person then present, the fear and actual force will not acquit him of the crime and punishment of murder, if he commit the fact."* Such, undoubtedly, would be the rule of law, at least if the party were so far self-possessed, as to be capable of voluntarily electing to pursue that course. And such clearly would be the rule of sound morals; for, as Lord Hale observes, "the party ought rather to die himself than kill an innocent." For, though life be dear to him, it

* 1 Hale's Pleas of the Crown, p. 51.

must be presumed to be equally dear to the person who would thus, without provocation on his own part, be deprived of it; and his right to life is equally sacred and inviolable. And whether the individual brought this danger upon himself by his own culpable act, or it has befallen him, in the providence of God, without any fault of his, it is palpably more just that he should bear his own burden, than that he should wilfully cast it upon another, who has not consented, and who is under no especial obligation to bear it for him.

Accordingly, we think the language of Ferguson,* which authorizes the use of "*any* means effectual and necessary," for one's protection, is clearly too broad and unqualified. The statement of Paley* has been considered open to the same objection.† But though he says, "there is one case in which all extremities are justifiable," yet we think that upon a fair construction, having regard to the context, the right, as expressed by him, extends not beyond taking the life of the aggressor himself. Whether the doctrine as thus stated and understood be tenable; whether it be right, that is, for a man, in his own defence, to kill his assailant, is a point which we will next consider.

A serious practical difficulty presents itself in the outset. No reasonable man will pretend to justify killing another to avoid any merely temporary injury; but the argument is, that where a man will be slain himself, unless he kill his assailant, he has a right to preserve his own life at the expense of that of the other. But what is here assumed to be known to the party attacked, namely, that he must either lose his own, or take the invader's life, is precisely the thing which, from the nature of the case, he cannot know. For, in order to that, he must know, first, that the assailant actually intends to kill him, and that he will, unless himself shall prevent it, carry that purpose into effect. But how can he know, for a certainty, that the other really seeks his destruction? Not from his words or demonstrations; for a man, who is wicked enough even to threaten to kill another, it is no great breach of charity to presume, will lie and otherwise attempt to deceive. But granting that the violent person had deliberately formed the design to destroy him, it is far from certain that he may not, when the crisis comes, be pre-

* See Ante, p. 169.

† See Dymond's Essays on the Principles of Morality, p. 225.

vented from putting his design into execution, by the want of courage, by compunctions of conscience, or by the sudden and unexpected occurrence of events, or interposition of human agency. Then, it will be admitted, that before the party in peril can justly slay his antagonist, he must have tried in vain all the harmless and comparatively harmless means, which the circumstances will fairly allow. He must, therefore, know that none of these means can be resorted to with effect.

The several considerations enumerated, of however little weight they may seem, individually, do yet, when put together, go to reduce it far below a certainty, that the person assailed will himself be slain, unless he kill his adversary. The most that can be said is, that there is a probability, stronger or weaker, of such a catastrophe. But where the consquences are likely to be so very serious, one ought certainly to be extremely cautious, lest he misjudge probabilities, and do an unwarrantable act. Men, taking counsel of their fears, are quite sufficiently prone to magnify the danger they are in, and are thus sometimes driven, by their own groundless apprehensions, to become themselves the aggressors. Still, as things are constituted, we must often act on probabilities; and it is not denied, that cases may occur, in which the probability in question may rise so high as to justify acting upon it, provided it be shown, satisfactorily, to be right for a man intentionally to destroy the life of another in order to save his own.

So long as a person can preserve his life, or avert some great impending evil, by means wholly or comparatively inoffensive, we find no difficulty in admitting that, as a general rule, it is his right and duty so to do. But when it comes to taking the life of a brother man, the matter assumes an exceedingly grave aspect. "While there is life, there is hope." The most hardened reprobate, if he be permitted to live, may yet become a better man; and it is a fearful thing, designedly to cut short the earthly probation of one who so much needs, and who perhaps might improve the remnant of his days for repentance and reformation. Yet the other party also may need to live, for the same purposes; and why, it will be asked, should he be required to forego that privilege? Here is truly an unhappy conflict of rights and duties, occasioned, indeed, wholly by the fault and wickedness of the violent party. The case may be stated thus: You possess the right to life; another man has the same right. He is under an obligation to respect this right of

yours; you are under the same obligation towards him. In wilful breach of his obligation, he attempts to rob you of your right. Does that divest him of his right and discharge your obligation?

He, who by violence endeavors to destroy his fellow-man, has surely small claim to indulgence. But then nobody puts the right to kill such a one, upon the ground of his demerits, but upon the other's natural preference for his own life. Now, how far can this preference justly be carried? Suppose the case, that one of two persons must die, but that it depends not at all upon the will or act of either, which shall be taken. Generally, in such a case, each would naturally entertain the secret wish, that the lot might fall upon the other, — happening, as it would, entirely without his intervention or agency. But if it come to this, that he must make the choice, and, not that only, must himself voluntarily become the other's executioner, the case is sadly altered. The inquiry, then, is mainly, what, in view of his own duties as well as his rights, the party in peril can justly do; whether, and how far, he is bound to show mercy to one who shows no mercy unto himself; and whether he can assume the responsibility of deciding, that his own life is of so much importance to himself or others, as to authorize him, for the sake of preserving it, to take that of a man, who, whatever be his chance of usefulness to others, has certainly abundant need to live for his own reformation and improvement.

The question, as to the comparative usefulness of the parties and their need of life, is one that admits of but a very uncertain judgment, at the best. To say nothing of the consideration, that a man may not be capable of forming the most accurate and impartial estimate of these matters, in his own case, — especially if he be, at the time, under the overwhelming apprehension of immediate death, — it is not for mortal man, in any circumstances, to undertake to say, that the life of any one individual is of more consequence than that of any other, for accomplishing the purposes of God; or that it would have been better, on the whole, for a particular person to have lived longer than he was permitted to live. In the mysterious course of Providence, we often witness dispensations which it is impossible for human reason to reconcile to its narrow and imperfect conceptions of utility. Here we see a young man taken away, just as he was about to enter upon some field of usefulness, in assiduous preparation for which he had spent much of his life. Another

falls in the midst of manhood, leaving to the uncertain mercies of a cold and selfish world a numerous family, whose sole dependence for support was upon his exertions. In such cases, it might well seem that some one else, to appearance comparatively useless, might better have been spared than these. Or we behold one cut off in the bloom and beauty of youth, gay and thoughtless, with an intense relish for life, and clinging to it with convulsive grasp; while another is left, full of years and infirmities, his powers all gone to decay, ready and willing, yea, waiting for the summons to depart, and be at rest. All we can say in these cases is, that we know not the ultimate ends of Providence, and are, therefore, utterly incapable of judging what will be for the best, eventually, and on the whole.

The taking of another's life, designedly, in order to save one's own, is not easily reconcilable with the precept, "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself." Nobody would regard it as a manifestation of much love to a person, to kill him under such circumstances; but whatever love there might be in the case, we apprehend, would chiefly respect self. The reply, that is sometimes made to the argument drawn from this precept, namely, that we are not commanded to love others *better* than ourselves, is not very satisfactory. The reasoning on which it proceeds would equally authorize a man to take the life of an innocent person, for the sake of preserving his own. For, if because he is not required to love another better than himself, he may, therefore, kill that other to effect his own preservation, he may do so wholly irrespective of the merits or demerits of the person sacrificed. The principle, that one is not bound to love his neighbor more than himself, would fairly apply to justify an innocent man in declining voluntarily to die in another's stead, in a case where he might, by so doing, save him from death at the hands of a third party. But equal love to another, we conceive, is incompatible with the idea of one's becoming himself the active agent, and with his own hands designedly destroying the life of that other. Moreover, it would not follow, because a man suffered himself to be slain rather than kill his adversary, that he did, in fact, love him better than himself. He may have acted thus, not from his superior love to the injurious person, but because he durst not, in view of his own duty and accountability, take the responsibility of putting an end, thus abruptly, to the other's temporal career.

The prohibition, *do not kill,** is sometimes cited as conclusive of the matter in controversy. But it is replied, on what valid authority we know not, that this applies only to the case of murder. It is true that, in our version, it is expressed, in one instance, "Thou shalt do no murder;"† but then the word used in the original is the same in all the cases, and it signifies, simply, to slay a man, — to commit homicide, generally, — like our word, *kill;* without indicating, at all, the degree of the crime. We see no reason to doubt that the design was, to prohibit all intentional destruction of human life. It is said, indeed, that this command is expressed in the same absolute form in the Decalogue, while in other parts of the Jewish law, the taking of human life, in certain cases, is expressly allowed. The Jewish law, like every other system of laws, is to be taken together as a whole, and its different parts are to be construed with reference to each other. Here, we have in the Decalogue, the command stated in general terms; in other parts of the same code we find restrictions and qualifications, which go to limit the command, and destroy its universality. But the Jewish law was designed for a particular people; and, moreover, *as a law,* it has been superseded by the Gospel. It is to this latter, therefore, that we are to look for direction upon the subject. By reference to the New Testament, we find this command repeatedly expressed, without any qualification, or any intimation of its being used in a restricted sense; nor do we know of anything, in other parts of the same volume, to qualify or restrict it. Four times, at least, it occurs in immediate connexion with four or more other commands, which are admitted to be of universal application. And, we shall submit, there is no good ground for supposing that the command referred to was designed to be different, in that respect, from those others. Now, will it be maintained, that because a man believes his life is in danger, and imagines he can save himself by so doing, he is at liberty to break each and all of these other commandments? We do not say that the violation of a command or duty is equally heinous under all circumstances. What a man does, when under the overwhelming fear of instant death, or of some grievous calamity, is doubtless entitled to be regarded with great indulgence. But it is one thing to say that the circumstances under which an act is done may palliate its

* Mark, x. 19; Luke, xviii. 20; James, ii. 11. † Matt. xix. 18.

guilt, and quite another to undertake to justify such act, generally, on principle. And we do not perceive why the violation of the particular command in question should be more excusable, than that of the others stated along with it would be, under an equal pressure of necessity. The breach of neither can be justified; the guilt of violating either may, in some degree, be extenuated, by the exigency which occasions the transgression.

To the view we have taken, that force may sometimes, and to a certain extent, be used by one in his necessary defence, the precept of Christ, *resist not evil*, will be replied. It is to be observed, that the text on which our Lord was then commenting, was, "an eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth." It was the law of retaliation, — of returning like for like. From the nature of the case, this could have nothing to do with the question of self-defence. A man who had been violently assaulted and deprived of an eye, a tooth, or a limb, could scarcely be expected, upon the spot, to set systematically about depriving his assailant of a corresponding organ or member; — much less, to do it for the purpose of defence, that is, for the prevention of injury. The retaliation here spoken of, was obviously an injury inflicted after the danger had been encountered and the evil suffered; it was not an act of prevention, but of deliberate revenge. Our Saviour set forth this law of retaliation, that he might declare it was to be no longer in force, but was henceforth and forever abolished. His leading purpose was, we conceive, to forbid the practice of revenge. The doctrine here proclaimed, was the same, in substance, as that stated elsewhere in the New Testament, *render not evil for evil;* and, again, "avenge not yourselves, but rather give place unto wrath," leaving it to him to recompense, who has said, "Vengeance is mine, I will repay."*

It was, however, undoubtedly, the object of the precept in question to enjoin, generally, the cultivation of the spirit and practice of patience, forbearance, and long-suffering. The phrase translated, "resist not evil," is, properly, withstand or oppose not the evil or violent person, — one who injures you, as in the case stated in the subsequent part of the verse.† Take not up against such a one; enter not into controversy with him. For the original of this word, *resist*, is applied to opposition or resistance by words, as well as by deeds; and, in fact, in no

* Rom. xii. 19. † Matt. v. 39.

case where it is used in the New Testament, unless it be this, it is believed, does it denote an actual, physical resistance; but it signifies either to refute, oppose, or rebuke by words merely; * or to hold out against truth and the like; † or else to withstand the power and solicitations of evil.‡

Such we apprehend to have been the purposes for which this precept was proclaimed. Neither of the cases put by our Saviour pre-supposes the party aggrieved to be in any present physical danger, or that there is any call, or opportunity even, for personal defence. The first is a case of insult and of comparatively slight bodily injury; the second respects the loss of an article of property of small value; and the third concerns a matter of trifling personal inconvenience. The first case, which alone can have anything to do with the question of forcible defence, does not contemplate an impending calamity, but supposes the injury, such as it is, to be already inflicted, and regards simply the mode of proceeding in respect to that. Now, under such circumstances, for the injured party to return the blow, would not be an act of defence, but strictly and purely an act of revenge. But it would be going a long way to infer, that, because a man may not strike another to revenge a slight personal insult, or injury, therefore he may not restrain, disarm, or even disable him, in order to save his very life.

The purport of our Lord's teaching on this subject we take to be substantially this. If a man will smite you, bear with it; do not avenge yourself by smiting him in return; yea, rather than do that, if need be, submit to a repetition of the injury. If he will wrongfully deprive you of an article of property, do not stand punctiliously upon your rights, but recede from them, somewhat, if necessary; indeed, rather than contest the matter and furnish occasion for strife, be content to give up something else even. Or if, for his own purposes, he would subject you to personal inconvenience, rather than get involved in a controversy with him, consent, if it were necessary, to undergo even twice the amount of inconvenience he now seeks to impose upon you. The spirit of the lesson is, *bear and sacrifice something for the sake of peace.* Not that we are to court injury. So did not Christ or his Apostles. Neither did they show

* Luke, xxi. 15; Acts, xiii. 8; Gal. ii. 11.
† Acts, vi. 10; Rom. ix. 19, xiii. 2; 2 Tim. iii. 8, iv. 15.
‡ Eph. vi. 13; Jam. iv. 7; 1 Pet. v. 9.

themselves callous and insensible to injury when inflicted upon them; nor were they indifferent to their rights. When Jesus was struck by an officer,* he bore the injury patiently, but solemnly remonstrated with the man, on his violent conduct. When Paul was smitten by order of the high priest,† he did not strike in return, but rebuked the high priest with a sternness and severity unusual with him. Paul asserted his right to enjoy the immunities of a Roman citizen, as well as to be tried by a Roman tribunal;‡ and when he and Silas had been cruelly and wickedly entreated by the people of Philippi, he so far insisted on their rights as Romans, as to refuse to be thrust out privily, after having been beaten openly, uncondemned, and cast into prison, but he demanded that the people should come themselves and fetch them out, — which they were constrained to do.§

The example and precepts of our Saviour and his Apostles teach us, also, abundantly, the propriety of using all reasonable means and precautions for the preservation of life, and for personal security, when there is no special call on us to confront danger. When the Pharisees sought his destruction, Jesus withdrew from them;‖ when the people of Nazareth would have cast him down a precipice, he passed through their midst, and went his way to another city;¶ for a time, he would not walk in Jewry, because the Jews sought to kill him;** when the people would have stoned him, he hid himself and went out of the temple;†† and, at another time, when they sought to take him, he escaped from them and went away again beyond Jordan.‡‡ If it be said, Christ possessed knowledge superhuman, and knew that "his hour was not yet come," which we, in our own case, cannot know, it is to be considered, that neither can we know our time is come, until we have ineffectually exhausted all the reasonable and proper means of safety which we possess.

Our Lord also commanded his twelve Apostles, when they were persecuted in one city to flee into another.§§ In conformity with this direction, and with a view to his own personal safety, Paul acted frequently. When the Jews of Damascus

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* John, xviii. 23.
† Acts. xxiii. 3.
‡ Acts, xxii. 25, xxv. 10.
§ Acts, xvi. 37.
‖ Matt. xii. 15.
¶ Luke, iv. 30.
** John, vii. 1.
†† John, viii. 59.
‡‡ John, x. 39.
§§ Matt. x. 23.

lay in wait to kill him, he suffered the disciples, by night, to let him down by the wall in a basket, and so escaped, and went to Jerusalem; whence, that he might not be slain, he was sent to Tarsus.* When Paul and Barnabas were expelled from Antioch, they went to Iconium,† and when in danger of being stoned by the people of that place, they fled into other cities and there preached the gospel.‡ Again, when Paul and Silas were in peril at Thessalonica, the brethren sent them away, by night, to Berea, whence Paul was in like manner, and for a like cause, conveyed to another place.§ And, finally, when a conspiracy was formed, sworn to take Paul's life, he took measures to inform the proper authorities, and thus thwarted the foul purpose of the conspirators, and, for the time, saved his own life.‖

It does not appear, so far as we know, that either Christ or his Apostles ever resorted to physical force in defence of their persons or lives. But neither do we recollect any occasion, when there was at once a call for such use of force, and a chance of its proving effectual to prevent wrong. The injuries, to which they were subjected, were inflicted by the lawless mob, or by the command of equally lawless and tyrannical magistrates. Once, indeed, when our Saviour was apprehended, Peter would fain have repelled, by violence, those who came to seize his master; in rebuke of which proceeding Jesus uttered that memorable declaration, which so truly and forcibly expresses the danger they incur who enter upon courses of violence, "All they that take the sword, shall perish with the sword."¶ Of this particular case, — without observing that resistance by such human means as they possessed would have been of no avail, — it may be remarked, that our Lord was in no present personal danger, which required such summary vindication; that his arrest, however unwarrantable in fact, professed to be for cause and under authority; and, finally, that his mission was peculiar, — its full and complete accomplishment required his death, and doubtless the most opportune time for that event had then arrived.

This much, however, we learn from the conduct of Christ and his apostles, that they did, advisedly and of set purpose,

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* Acts, ix. 25, 30. † Acts, xiii. 51. ‡ Acts, xiv. 6.
§ Acts, xvii. 10, 14. ‖ Acts, xxiii. 17.
¶ Matt. xxvi. 52; and see John xviii. 10.

make use of means to frustrate the wicked designs of their enemies, and to secure their own safety. Those means were the withdrawal from the impending danger. And such, beyond all question, we think, is the method that is to be resorted to primarily, and in all cases where there is opportunity for it, and no duty calls to remain. But where this method having failed, the party invaded may, nevertheless, by the use of force, yet without doing any, or at most, any permanent or fatal injury to the assailant, avert death or some grievous calamity, we deem it to be equally his right and duty to use such forcible means to prevent the catastrophe. The motive, self-preservation, is the same in this case as in the other; the end accomplished is the same, namely, the frustration of the violent purpose, and the safety of the person threatened, while comparatively little or no harm is done to the invader. But let him, who, in defence even of his life, would go further and designedly destroy another, and would vindicate such a course, see to it that he be able to justify himself on the principles of right and of the Gospel.

Having thus expressed our views on the general subject of defence, we have somewhat to say of the principles that are professedly entertained, and the practice that actually obtains, in relation to it. It has been justly remarked, that "mankind are at least sufficiently persuaded of the lawfulness of defending themselves against violence;" * and it were well if this persuasion extended no further than to the right of mere defence. There are, comparatively, very few men, who, in their whole lives long, are reduced to the necessity of employing force for their own protection. It is not a thing of that every-day occurrence which the language of some people would indicate, that a peaceable man is subjected to physical injury by his fellow-man; still more rare are the cases where he has an opportunity to prevent such injury by the use of forcible means; and almost never is one driven to the exercise of violent extremities, in pure self-defence.

But the popular persuasion of the right to resort to violence is not confined to cases of defence. The particular precepts, as well as the general tenor of the Gospel, most pointedly forbid the indulgence of revenge. The municipal law equally prohibits the use of force for purposes of vengeance, and in so

* Dymond's Essays, p. 225.

far, at least, is conformable to the Gospel; while, unfortunately, the too prevalent sentiment of the community, and the practice, to some extent, are in conflict with both. As has been said, we live "in a society where to kindle with resentment is spirited and noble, and to retaliate an affront is the dictate of honor."* If we may judge from their language, some men regard an insult, at least when viewed prospectively, as a sort of godsend, inasmuch as it promises them a pretext, should their courage prove sufficient, for gratifying their morbid craving for violence and vengeance. Tell such men that the violent and revengeful spirit they cherish is forbidden by the Gospel, and is irreconcilable with the gentleness, forbearance, and long-suffering it enjoins, they will scout the idea. They profess neither to know nor to care whether it be so or not; or else they have the effrontery to admit that the Christian rule is so, and at the same time shamelessly declare they will disregard it. Yet these same men pretend to be firm believers in the Gospel, though, by their conduct, they virtually deny its truth and binding force, and set it at open defiance. If they really admit its validity, they are guilty of the consummate folly of undertaking to justify themselves in a wilful and deliberate violation of their acknowledged duty. Their practice conclusively negatives the idea, that in their view the Gospel was designed as the rule of life; and if they were asked to state precisely for what purpose they supposed it was really intended, we doubt whether they would be able to give any more definite and satisfactory answer, than that it was *not* for them to live by.

The spirit in question is so prevalent as to form a sort of public opinion. Put the case, that a man has been subjected to insult or indignity of certain kinds. If he do not knock the offender down, or, at the least, retort upon him, by the use of the harshest and most abusive epithets the language affords, he is in danger of being thought mean-spirited. In other words, if a man chooses to enact the blackguard towards you, you must return the compliment in kind, and then, forsooth, you are deemed to possess courage and manliness. We speak of the tone of sentiment that prevails in what is considered the middling and respectable portion of the community; and not of that exquisite, delicate sense of *honor*, which is found in Congress and elsewhere, which when wounded, for example, by offensive lan-

* Buckminster's Works, vol. i. p. 297.

guage, it matters not whether well or ill-deserved, knows no cure but by blood; — unless, fortunately, it be discovered, to the equal surprise and relief of all parties concerned, that the words which gave the offence were entirely misapprehended, — that they were used, not in their ordinary acceptation, but in a *Pickwickian* sense.

Let us look at this thing in another and a decidedly matter of fact point of view. We will suppose, for instance, that you are charged with falsehood, and that, unfortunately, the charge is true. Now, it may not have been strictly urbane in the other to make the charge. But however discourteous it may have been on his part, and however honest, possibly, or malicious, probably, was his motive, you cannot well complain. You stand, as politicians say, in a "*false* position;" and though you deny the charge in the very choicest Billingsgate, joining personal chastisement to the denial, you do but render yourself guilty of a repetition of the offence imputed to you, and convict yourself out of your own mouth; and, withal, superadd the crime of violence to that of falsehood. But, suppose the charge in question to be false, in fact. As it cannot then disturb your own conviction of innocence, the main inquiry will be, how you are to treat the matter in order to afford to others the strongest assurance of your veracity, and, if possible, to make some salutary impression upon the mind of the injurious person. Are these ends likely to be best attained, by giving a loose rein to passion, and abusing the delinquent with words and blows; or by a firm and manly, but temperate denial of the calumny, and a serious, yet friendly expostulation with the reckless author of it?

It is true, we may not be able to suppress a feeling of indignation, when wanton and groundless aspersions are cast upon our character, or unprovoked injury is offered to our persons. But, then, may not one experience a sense of honest indignation without getting into a frenzy, and perpetrating, if not the same, some other offence, worse perhaps than that he is charged with? The righteous indignation of Jesus of Nazareth even, was sometimes roused by the wickedness of the Jews, but he never lost the control of himself; and, if a sentiment of anger was ever excited in his pure bosom, it soon melted away into that milder and characteristic trait, of compassion for the waywardness and perversity of misguided men.*

* See Mark, iii. 5.

The violence and abuse, with which insults and injuries are wont to be resented, are not, we apprehend, always the spontaneous and uncontrollable outbreak of wounded feelings; nor do the demonstrations that are exhibited indicate very exactly, in all cases, the degree of passion actually excited. Some men seem to have a real love of violence, and to delight in the practice of it; but more are driven to it by the state of feeling that prevails in society. Somehow, a very exaggerated importance has come to be attached to physical courage, and the promptitude and rigor with which wrongs and insults are revenged, is, as we have intimated, used to be considered a test of such courage. And so much of a habit has it become to regard the matter in this light, and such is the tyranny of opinion in relation to it, that the resenting of an affront, so far from being necessarily a proof of real physical courage even, is quite as likely to indicate a want of that far better quality, moral courage. The degree of real magnanimity that is required, to meet the imputation of cowardice, may often be much greater than will suffice to enable one to inflict upon the offender a certain amount of bad language or of physical abuse. That is a rare courage, which dares to do right in the face of inveterate habit and public opinion, standing up in support of the wrong.

The idea, that the vindication of a man's honor requires him to revenge unmerited insults, is as groundless in fact, as it is unchristian in its character, and pernicious in its consequences. This notion needs no better refutation than that furnished by Grotius, who observes, that "honor being the opinion of some excellency or merit, he that can put up an affront expresses a particular excellency of temper, and therefore rather adds to his honor, than detracts from it. But, if some persons, through a false notion of honor, call this virtue of patience by a wrong name, and so turn it into ridicule, it is not material, for those false judgments do not alter the nature of the thing, nor diminish its value."*

Besides that the practice of revenging one's private grievances is not warranted by any necessity, or sustained by any valid reason, and is pointedly condemned by the Gospel, the positive bad consequences attending such a course would be sufficient, of themselves, to settle the question against it. "The hasty revenger of his own cause," says Granville Sharp,

* Rights of War and Peace, Book 2, ch. 1, § 10.

" usurps all the distinct offices of judge, jury, and executioner." " He sets himself above the law, ... and thereby renders himself in fact an open enemy to liberty, and consequently a disgrace to society."* Men may sometimes, in cases of necessity, act on their own responsibility, for the *prevention* of injury; but if they are to take it upon themselves, in defiance of the laws, to right their own wrongs, real or imaginary, there might as well be no laws.

But we shall be told by those who rejoice in the title of *practical* men, that patience under injuries will but serve to invite fresh aggression. This idea proceeds upon views of human nature which we do not adopt. It assumes, in effect, that every man will make it his aim to do to every other the greatest possible amount of harm, and that he is to be deterred therefrom only by the fear of chastisement. Now, we believe there are elements in human nature, not only of a higher and holier character than fear, but more effectual also for preserving peace and harmony in society. We hold, with the Non-Resistants, in this particular, that " there is great security in being gentle, harmless, long-suffering, and abundant in mercy."† The peaceful policy of William Penn is well known; and such was its success, that the case has been cited, by a high authority, as affording " a large and most striking though solitary example of the facility with which they, who are really sincere and friendly in their own views, may live in harmony even with those who are supposed to be peculiarly fierce and faithless." ‡ If the example is a solitary one, it is not because there was anything particularly favorable in the circumstances attending it, — for the contrary was the fact, — but because it is the only instance in which the experiment has been tried in a public and official manner.

This peaceable course of conduct may not, in every case, be an effectual protection against injurious treatment. But will any other course be more effectual? Who, it has been pertinently asked, are the persons that most frequently receive insult and abuse? Are they the meek, the benevolent and forbearing; or are they persons of quick resentment, who are ready to fight on the least provocation? § There is an efficacy in

* Tract on Passive Obedience, p. 92.
† Declaration of Sentiments of N. E. Non-Res. Soc.
‡ Edinburgh Review, Vol. 21, p. 460.
§ Worcester's Solemn Review of the Custom of War.

gentleness which can disarm hostility, when angry violence would but have augmented its fury. The power of the two is like that of the sun and the wind, as illustrated in the fable, which represents them as vieing with each other to divest the traveller of his cloak. While the wind doubled and re-doubled its force, with no other effect than to make him wrap his garment still closer about him, the mild and silent energy of the sun's rays soon induced him to throw it aside.

Then, he who sets out with the principle, that he is never to avenge himself by force and violence, will be very careful to avoid wantonly giving provocation to others. Men are apt to be insolent and abusive much in proportion as they fancy they have, in their own hands, the authority and the ability to protect themselves from what they are pleased to regard as encroachments upon their prerogative. Probably the last method to insure one's passing through life, without being subjected to insult or injury, would be, to furnish him with weapons, and carefully to inculcate it upon him, that he is to use them for the vindication of his rights and honor. But where a man is impressed with the conviction, not only that it is his duty to be peaceable, but that he must be so or else passively suffer violence as the fruit of his own doings, he will be very unlikely to give *needless* offence. And such is the character of a great proportion of the offence which leads to the dissention and violence that are witnessed in the world. Not always, but frequently, the injury against which men claim the right to defend themselves, on the ground of necessity, they have induced by their own wrongful conduct; and they are entitled to about as much credit for protecting themselves from harm, as one could lay claim to for saving a man from drowning, who should first purposely throw him into the water, and then pull him out when half dead. There may be cases, however, where truth and principle may require of us to pursue a course at which others will be pleased, though unreasonably, to take offence; and then we are not to shrink from duty because danger lies in the way.

The inoffensive conduct which we advocate is not the result of cowardice, nor does it flow from a mean and craven spirit, which neither knows nor dares to discriminate between right and wrong treatment. It is the fruit of a spirit that can bear to *suffer* wrong, but dares not *do* wrong. It not only allows, but often demands, that the patient endurance of evil should be

accompanied with a firm and fearless, yet kind and temperate remonstrance, — nay, sometimes, with a stern rebuke of the wrongdoer; — rebuke, not from a sense of personal injury, but from considerations higher than self; from a holy indignation at the violence and injustice done to the cause of truth and righteousness, yet softened with pity for the deluded transgressor; — such rebuke as the wickedness and hard-heartedness of the Jews called forth from Jesus of Nazareth; taking care, however, to make due allowance for our limited knowledge of the hearts of men, while "he knew what was in man."

But your practical men, to show the futility of depending upon any of these peaceable and harmless means of protection, or, if you please, in order to refute the ultra notions of Non-Resistants, will put you some case the most horrible that their imaginations can conjure up, but which, within the utmost limits of possibility may happen, and they will ask, with an air of conscious triumph, what is to be done in such a case. We really do not know; nor should we care to decide the question before the case arose, — which might never be. If a man should undertake to settle beforehand, how he will act in every possible event he can imagine, he would find it an exceedingly complicated and perplexing task; — not to mention that, when the crisis came, he would have small opportunity to compare the case in hand with those he had provided for, and that, possibly, after all, this might be the very case which he had failed to foresee. It is obvious, that nothing more can be done, than to have fixed in one's mind certain general principles of action.

But there is another difficulty attending the matter, which is, that in the extreme cases supposed, probably not one man in a thousand would possess both the means and the presence of mind to carry into effect the course of conduct he had before resolved upon. What a man would do, even if he had the means, in the distraction, the fear or frenzy of the moment, is a thing of much uncertainty. This is one of those cases, which must be left, in a great measure, to provide for themselves. But if a man will himself maintain a conscience void of offence, and cultivate true Christian principles and character, he may, relying upon the providence of God, safely rest content to do what, at the time, should the emergency unhappily ever arise, the best dictates of his own mind shall prompt, and the circumstances of the case will permit.

There is great force in what Puffendorf has said, that "ac-

tions done upon extreme necessity and out of consternation of mind, arising from imminent danger, and which do, therefore, meet rather with excuse than with approbation, ought by no means to be established for common rules of proceeding."* And this suggests the great evil of putting these extreme cases as tests of right and duty. If it be stated, that one may, in no instance whatever, employ force in his own defence, we admit that it is fair to put any probable case, to try the soundness of the rule. But, while we consider it extremely bad policy, to say the least, to undertake to lay down a rule as absolutely universal, when it cannot be sustained, we deem it still more dangerous to good morals, to give to imaginary, extreme cases that weight and prominence which are sometimes allowed them. For, having once settled it in their own minds, that, in a supposed, possible case, violence may lawfully be used, men are apt, losing sight of the particular circumstances of that case, to retain a *general* impression that it is allowable to resort to such means. The danger is, that they will frame their rule of conduct from the cases in question, leaving it to their own discretion, whether or not that rule shall be rigorously enforced, in every instance, and setting down any forbearance, they may exercise, to the credit of their exceeding clemency and humanity. But life is not a series of extreme cases; so far from it, scarcely one man in a hundred, during his whole lifetime, meets with what may fairly be called an adventure. Life's texture is made up chiefly of common incidents and occurrences, and therefore its rules ought not to be framed to meet some extraordinary, possible case, but they should be suited to the general tenor of human existence. What it is desirable, then, to have distinctly impressed upon the minds of people, is, that the rule, by which they are to regulate the conduct of their lives, forbids the resort to violence; and that, if there are any cases which allow of such resort, they are exceptions to the rule, and the burden of proof to show them to be exceptions is on him, who would set them up as such.

The fundamental idea on which the non-resistance doctrines proceed, if we understand the matter aright, consists in discarding physical force as an instrument for correcting, controlling, and regulating men. To this principle, speaking generally, we entirely assent, though we entertain the opinion, that the

* Law of Nature and Nations, Book 2, ch. 3, § 11.

principle is carried too far, and that conclusions are attempted to be deduced from it, which are not authorized. We yield to few in detestation of the use of force, for the purposes in question, where any worthier means would be effectual. Force is a low and brutal instrument. Reason is the characteristic attribute of man; and it is through this and his affections, if possible, that he should be swayed, impelled, and governed.

That violence is abhorrent to the genius and spirit of the Gospel, we think, is clear. Christianity is a dispensation of peace and good-will, of benevolence and mercy, of patience and forgiveness. The glory of its founder "did not consist in fighting with carnal weapons, till he fell in battle; but in the display of a meek and forgiving temper towards insulting and cruel foes, seeking their good with his dying breath."* It scarcely needs be stated, that if all men were habitually under the influence of the Gospel, and regulated their lives by its requirements, there could be no room for the exercise of violence or physical force, in the intercourse of mankind, whether as communities or as individuals. It is very evident, however, that all are not under such influence and direction. And it does not appear, that we are bound to the same course of treatment towards them, as if that were the case. It was the direction of our Saviour, if a brother shall trespass against you, and shall obstinately hold out against all your kind and friendly efforts to bring him to a right temper of mind, "Let him be unto thee as a heathen man and a publican."† Not that you may injure him, or refuse to do him a kindness when opportunity offers; but you may withdraw your fellowship from him, and break off the intercourse and intimacies of life, — which would scarcely be justifiable without some fault on his part.

We will advert to two further particulars, the law and government. The views of the Non-Resistants are understood entirely to exclude all resort to law, for the settlement of difficulties, or the adjustment of rights. And some one, who was far enough from being a Non-Resistant, has supposed, that when an entire reformation of mind and morals among the worst of men is effected, "the gentlemen of the law will be almost, if not altogether, as useless as carnal weapons.‡" This remark

* Worcester on the Atonement, p. 50.
† Matt. xviii. 17.
‡ Tract on the Nature and Duty of Self-Defence, p. 4.

proceeds upon a notion which is somewhat prevalent, and which is the foundation of much of the prejudice that exists against the legal profession. People will tell you, as if it were an axiom, that both sides of a case cannot be right, and then proceed very logically to deduce the inference, that half the time a lawyer must, of necessity, take up the wrong side, — which, to say the least, would be unfortunate. Two things are assumed here; the first, that one of the parties is, in fact, always precisely in the right, and the other utterly in the wrong; the second, that a lawyer, unlike everybody else, always knows the end from the beginning. Because, in the result, one party usually succeeds, and the other is defeated, persons are apt to fancy the case to be a very clear one, and to take it for granted that the prevailing party had all the right on his side, while the other undertook the prosecution or defence purely to harass and vex his opponent. But the truth is, that even after the whole merits of a case have been fully and fairly laid open, there is not always that overwhelming preponderance, either of law or of justice, on the one side or the other, which seems to be supposed. Then, the client may not himself, at the outset, be acquainted with all the material facts of his case; and, besides, he may, very unwarrantably, to be sure, keep back some part from his legal adviser, either judging it to be unimportant, or else thinking it will do himself no credit personally, or will make against his case; — just as if the whole must not, in the end, come out. In short, a lawyer, from whatever cause, cannot always be so completely in possession of the facts of a case, at the time when it is necessary to act, as to enable him, however competent and honest, to judge unerringly of its merits. It holds here, as elsewhere, that a man can decide better, — not always more easily, — after he has heard all the evidence on both sides.

We do not doubt that litigation is sometimes carried on for purposes of sheer vexation and oppression; but we rejoice to believe that such litigation is becoming daily less common, and the sooner it is done away with, altogether, the better. But this is not the only use of the law. Men who mean to do right, and have no desire to take advantage, may honestly differ in their views of what is right, in a given case. It would not be difficult to find cases, in which two men, equally honest and intelligent, and both personally disinterested, would come to directly opposite conclusions, on the question of right. Now, it is of less importance which way such cases are decided, than

that, for the convenience and peace of society, they should be authoritatively settled, one way or the other. The uncertainty of the law is proverbial. Its principles, however, when once settled, are as stable as anything human; the uncertainty consists in the application of those principles to all the infinitely diversified complications of facts, which new cases are constantly presenting. If there were no artificial landmarks to guide in the settlement of these cases, but everything was left to be disposed of in such way as the parties might, at the moment, be able to agree upon, there is reason to apprehend, that things would soon get entangled in an inextricable maze. Besides, there are many instances in which men act in a representative capacity, having charge of the property and affairs of others. Now, admitting, what is true only with large qualifications, that one may do what he will with his own, he cannot justly exercise that unlimited discretion in the disposal of others' rights. He ought not to demand more than is fairly his due, and he is not at liberty, in such a case, to receive less; and in the event of a difference of opinion as to what is right, there is needed some regularly constituted authority, to which he may submit the decision of the matter, and be justified in acting conformably to such decision. On the whole, so long as men are actuated by human passions, and subject to human infirmities, we apprehend that something in the nature of judicial tribunals, independent, enlightened, and authoritative, will continue to be indispensable.

Non-Resistants are sometimes charged with seeking to overthrow human governments. The only way, however, in which they aim to do this, is, as they tell us, "by the regeneration of the individuals who compose them, — not by destroying, but by superseding them."* This we consider a very laudable purpose. The more thoroughly men are reformed in their characters, and imbued with the spirit of the Gospel, the less governing will they need from without. Were all habitually actuated and controlled by correct, Christian principles, there would be no occasion to employ force, in the administration of government. But that happy consummation is not likely to be witnessed, at present; and as things are, the right to resort to compulsory measures may be regarded as necessary. Still, the danger is, lest people be governed with too much rigor, rather than with too great lenity.

* Non-Resistant, Vol. II. p. 67.

To the proposition which has been advanced, that the life-taking power is the only means by which government can enforce obedience to its regulations,* we cannot assent. There are no means which will accomplish that object perfectly, but, we conceive, there are others than this, that are fully effectual, so far as any means can be so.

The idea, that any condition of society, however virtuous, would wholly supersede the necessity of government, of any kind, we regard as chimerical. That if all men were what they should be, a *forcible* government might be dispensed with, we have already said. But, if mankind are to live together in society, if they are to be engaged in human pursuits and vocations, and are, therefore, of necessity, to maintain communication with each other, their mutual convenience and well-being will ever require, that there should be some supervisory and directive power, to expedite the business and intercourse of the community, and to guide them in their proper channels.

C. M.

Art. III. — On the Uses of the Communion, and the propriety of a General Attendance upon it.

I wish to offer some thoughts in this Essay, upon the uses of the Communion, and the propriety of a general attendance upon it. From various causes, some of which are to be traced to historical events, others to doctrinal errors, and others still to a superstition ever lurking in men's minds, — from various causes, I say, it has come to pass that a ritual service, intended for the edification of the whole body of believers and worshippers, has been consigned over to the charge of a few. That which was meant to be a bond of union has become a badge, not of sectarian, but — what is worse — of personal distinction. A symbolic observance, of easy interpretation and of wide comprehensiveness, designed to be a common ground among different nations, and a common expositor of the faith among differing languages, has been made a peculiar and a profound mystery. A broad and generous institution is turned into a mystic singular-

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* Non-Resistant, Vol. II. p. 59.

ity. And that, which by the tenderest pleadings was set forth to draw all men to Christ, — to be a rite of Christ's love and compassion and fellowship, is made to multitudes to be a rite of repulsion and estrangement. I verily believe, that if there were no such rite as the Lord's Supper, in our churches, many would feel that they have a part and an interest in religion, which they now consider as denied to them. I do not say that this is a good reason for abandoning the ordinance; but I say that it is a good reason for considering most seriously the views that are entertained of it. And I do say also, that so it was not in the beginning. It is observable, indeed, that in the founder of this institution there was none of that extreme sensitiveness about its profanation, that has prevailed in later days; for he did not forbid Judas from partaking in it, though he knew that murder and betrayal were in his heart. And when it fell into the hands of the Apostles, when the early Christian congregations were gathered, we know that all who believed in Christ, and desired to place themselves under his discipline, — that is to say, that the entire company of Christian worshippers, — were communicants; that they as much and as freely participated in the act of communion, as in the act of prayer. The table of the Lord's Supper was spread; and the only condition of approach to it was faith in Christ, — a hearty reception of him as a heaven-commissioned Master and Saviour. There is no evidence that there was any church vote, or any exertion of the Apostolic will, in the matter. A credible expression of faith was the unquestioned passport. And when the children of these primitive confessors grew up, and took the places of their fathers, they all succeeded to the inheritance of their privileges. So it continued to be, till the time of the Reformation; so it is in the Catholic church to this day.

It is upon this primitive ground of general participation, that I would wish to see the Communion placed in our congregations. I could wish that every person, who believes in Christianity, and seriously purposes to lead a life in accordance with it, would come and engage in the acts and offices and meditations of this holy season. If there be any person among us of infidel principles, or vicious life, it is true that I could not advise his coming to the table of the Lord; there would be an utter impropriety in his coming. So far, doubtless, the act of communion is a profession of religion. It is a profession of Christianity, and of Christianity as the law and guide of life. But

it is not the profession of any peculiar sanctity, of any superiority to others; it is only the avowal of a sincere desire to attain to the elevated virtues of Christianity; to follow Christ as the heaven-ordained Master. Every person, faithfully entertaining such a desire, is fully entitled thus to come and express it; and to seek to seal and confirm it. It is to such emphatically that the Communion offers its aid.

Were the ordinance arranged as I would wish, the whole time of the Morning Service should be given to it. It should not be set aside in a corner, nor brought in at the close of another service, by which our minds had been already exhausted. The whole congregation, — that is, of the serious, thoughtful, and religiously disposed, who believe in Christ, — should gather around the table, and the pastor should from time to time, during the service, utter such thoughts as the occasion would suggest to him; thoughts which would occupy as much space in the delivery as a sermon, and would be, I believe, not less useful, but more so.

But what, it may be asked, is the advantage of having any such particular occasion, any such special meditation at all? Why should Christ, and the death of Christ, be made the subject of this peculiar consideration? What propriety has it, and what advantage would it offer to us, over and above what belong to the ordinary devotions and meditations of the sanctuary?

This question I shall attempt now to answer; and the rather, because I fear, that only a kind of demure and unbelieving assent is frequently yielded to the expediency and importance of that commemoration of Christ, which obtains in the Christian church. That the name of Christ should be frequently named in the churches; that constant references to the Saviour should mingle with our prayers and our meditations; that times and seasons should be set apart for the special remembrance of his sacrifice; all this is admitted to be proper, and has been so long admitted to be proper, that assent has lost much of the character of an original conviction. Faith, when it loses sight of its original grounds, is apt to die out; and hence it is, that not only this or that particular ordinance, but even all general worship is sometimes brought into question. The old faith is dead, and there is no new one to replace it. It is therefore important to go back, from time to time, to the primary reasons for certain institutions; and this is what I now propose to do in reference to the observance of the Lord's Supper.

In regard to this rite in particular, there is an idea prevailing that it is celebrated, because it is something that Christians *must do;* — because that without it, they could not be Christians. The observance is looked upon, not so much as a rational, as a ritual act or usage; something merely commanded, or long used, which it is not proper to neglect; or something that is, by appointment, to procure the Divine favor, or some spiritual good, and which therefore it is not safe to neglect. The feeling of some is, that it came into the church under peculiar circumstances, and that, if the question were about its establishment *now*, there would be no sufficient reason for it. Let this then be the question. Surely every rite is originally established for some reasons, — for reasons, too, founded in intrinsic propriety, and having relation to our instruction, impression, improvement. Every rite is designed to teach something that is worth knowing or remembering; and to impress what it teaches by fixing attention. This is the whole theory of ritual usages. Most ritual observances are but forms of meditation. The uplifted eyes and bended knees, or the head reverently bowed and the eyes closed in prayer, are thus far ritual; they help the mind by fixing attention. Grant, indeed, the original propriety of the act; but its *use* is to fix attention.

With these preliminary remarks, I proceed to consider the original and the still existing grounds and reasons for the commemoration of Christ, in the rite, which for that express purpose he instituted.

1. Let it then be observed, in the first place, that the chief means of religious progress is to be found in this one thing, — that is to say, a just, clear, and impressive idea of what religion is. The grand instrument of improvement is admitted to be *truth*. "Sanctify them," said our Saviour, "through thy truth." But what especially is this truth? I say, it is truth with regard to what a pure and religious life is. It is the lofty ideal of virtue that carries us to the lofty practice of virtue. Of course we cannot be good at all, unless we know what goodness is. And in proportion as our idea of goodness is elevated, are we provided with the efficient means that most powerfully teach and impel us to advance in goodness. Put into any mind that lofty ideal, and it cannot rest easy with low attainments; it is stung with shame at its defects; it is urged forward by a law of its very nature. So long as it counts not itself to have apprehended, it must press forward.

Indeed to see the wisdom and blessedness of a right life, — to apprehend it clearly and deeply, — to have the truth of this wrought out in the soul, — beyond all question and doubt, — this is one of the most momentous of all convictions. The learning of a hundred sciences were nothing to a man's happiness and dignity, compared with this. It is the very business and consummation of a wise man's inquiries to know this. Let this be once fixed in his mind, and with what disdain can he tread upon all the baits and allurements of passion and the world; how calmly can he meet all the calamities of life, — feeling that he has an aim and a treasure superior to them all. All earthly interests, objects, and circumstances, then revolve around him as things merely phenomenal and vanishing; means and ministers are they all to the loftier being of his mind; ends are they not — none of them; "none of these things move me," can he say with an Apostle, "neither count I my life dear unto me, that I may be found in Christ." What indeed is the struggle of virtue but this, — a struggle between the idea and the feeling of an inward, pure, and blessed life, and the thousand seductions of appetite, ambition, and interest! Which will make me happy? — is the question forever agitated in the secret bosom. In which lies the chief good, the nobleness, and blessedness, and true interest of a man? And, suppose a man not merely to yield a demure and ineffectual assent to the superiority of a good and righteous life, but to have a living persuasion that in this lies all his essential welfare; that a hundred crowns of honor, a thousand fortunes, or pleasures, flowing in upon him in a thousand streams, are nothing compared with the preciousness of an inward, devout, and divine life — and what a hold then has that life upon him! What can help him in wise and holy living like that conviction!

But what now is to help him to that conviction? I answer, nothing, instrumentally, but meditation. God will aid his true endeavor; but there is nothing within his own reach to do, but to meditate. He must fix his mind upon the divine ideal of a holy life, in order to realize it. He must go down into the depths of his soul; he must study its nature, its capacities, its wants; he must find out what it was made for. He must become familiar, by contemplation, with the beauty of rectitude, with the divinity of goodness, with the venerableness of sanctity, with the majesty and humbleness of prayer, with the heroism of virtue, with the sublimity of devotion. Thoughts, glowing

thoughts of purity, and gentleness, and candor, and forbearance, and disinterestedness, and love divine, must become his bosom companions. Where these thoughts dwell not, there will be no improvement, — there can be none; where they abide and live, — where they live in self-reproach, and struggle in prayer, there is garnered up the whole magazine of means, — the very means of salvation.

2. All this being admitted, and being indeed most evident, the next observation I have to offer is, that all this ideal of excellence is perfectly realized in Christ.

It is a wonderful thing to contemplate, — upon the high table-land of human history, — this image of perfect spiritual beauty. There it stands, in the sight of all men; and from whatsoever age or country the eye hath been directed, it hath never discovered in that living excellence one single fault. No picture of such a life, of such immaculate excellence, was ever imagined, till the living original appeared, and drew from the pens of simple fishermen, such a story of wisdom, and goodness, and grandeur, as human genius and inspiration had never before reached, — have never since equalled. It is indeed a wonderful thing to contemplate, — the single embodiment, the solitary realization of all and more than all the visions of moral beauty that had ever passed, in brightest splendors or faintest shadowings, before the human imagination! — and that faultless model found in Judea! — as strange, as wonderful a thing, as if the most perfect Phidian statue had risen, chiselled into more than mortal beauty, upon the crags of the wildest and most savage country!

Now the great difficulty about this excellence is its inaccessibleness. Its own elevation might have presented a sufficient obstacle to weak and erring creatures; but this obstacle has been incalculably increased by causes, lying, not in the object contemplated, but in our manner of viewing it. If we clothe Christ with the attributes of Divinity, it is difficult to see how he can be an example to humanity. For, although his manhood be held as well as his godhead, yet the supposed intimate union of both, so as to make one, only one self-conscious being, must impart such a peculiarity to his human virtue as almost entirely to remove it from all approach and imitation. This, it may be thought, with our creed, does not concern us. But believe me, the remnants or relics of all the prevalent creeds, that ever were in the church, are still lingering in our

minds; the influence of a creed is not dismissed with an act of disbelief, nor is it worn out in one generation. Still the force of Christ's example is immensely weakened, — is, in many minds, reduced almost to nothing, by the mystery that has surrounded his person. I say of his example. His precepts, his religion and religious system are undoubtedly exerting a powerful influence. But how few feel his example, as they feel the last biography of a good man that they have read! How few say in regard to the questions of conduct and feeling that are daily arising, — "Would Jesus have done this? — would he have felt thus?" His immaculate purity, I suspect, is commonly regarded as a kind of negative, undisturbed innocence, rather than as that result of a constant struggle, amidst temptation and difficulty, which doubtless it was. For he was tempted in all points as we are, though without sin. But how few realize this, — realize, that here was a being who grappled, not indeed with the power of *vitiated* appetite and desire, but who grappled with the natural energy and might of every human passion, subdued it with calm and resolute will, and held with unrelaxing grasp the prize of his moral greatness, — realize, that he was good as every man should be good, and patient as every man should be patient, and victorious as every man should be victorious! As men generally conceive of Jesus, there is a want of imitableness, of tangibility, almost I fear of reality, in his example.

Now, I have said, in the first place, that the way to gain excellence is to meditate upon it, and thus to fill our minds with the glow of admiration and desire. And, in the second place, I have said that the character of our Saviour is the very realization of all our ideas of wisdom and goodness. And I have said it, of course, with the implied inference that this is, above all things, worthy of our meditation. And I have referred to the difficulties that surround it, as strengthening the argument for this very meditation. In truth, there is more reason for it than there was in the early age. In proportion as that living excellence is separated from us by distance of time, and is liable to fade away into abstraction and shadow, is there ever increasing reason for meditation; and, therefore, there is especial propriety in a permanent ordinance, which, with visible symbols, sets before us, from time to time, the living patience, the mortal pain, and the immortal triumph of our Master.

3. And, I proceed now, in the third place, to observe that

there is a yet further and more especial propriety in the meditations to which this ordinance calls us, because our hardest struggle in life is with suffering and sorrow, with injury and wrong, with calamity and death.

Let us cast away all mystical ideas of this occasion, all preconceived ideas of the Gospel, and all visionary ideas of life, and come, on each point, to the reality.

I find my lot cast in, whether I will or not, with a life of change and trial and many pains. I would be happy; but alas! I do not easily learn to be happy. Peace of mind, calm repose, sustained and unbroken satisfaction — how hard is it to reach them? Many burdens press upon every man; many collisions with untoward events, or uncongenial persons, cut us to the quick; many wrongs and oppressions in society distress, and perhaps exasperate us. Bodily distemperature, too, — what a present, pressing, preying evil it is! And heartaches, too, there are, — stings and tortures in the mind. Do what we will, life is a battle; every man must fight his way, every step. Whether he knows it or not, this is true. I suppose myself to know all this, and to feel the burdens of life to be heavy. And yet I feel all burdens to be *light* compared with the wrong state of my own mind. If I could bear injury with a forgiving spirit, and calamity with humble resignation to God, I could bear them bravely. But with many assaults on the one hand, and a weak faith on the other, life is often borne down by bitter suffering and sad depression. To all but the brutal or the thoughtless, it is often a struggle with sin and sorrow. Every man may not so describe his case; but this it is, — this combination of outward trial and inward defect, that makes him often, — what he knows he is, — troubled, uneasy, unhappy, disheartened, dissatisfied, weary, worn, and sorrowful. No reasoning can reason this away. It is sad reality. It is "the still sad music of humanity," sounding through the world.

Now, suppose any one thus conscious of what life is, to have fallen upon the readings, for the first time, of the life of Christ. Instantly he would feel that this was something to him, — was much, — was everything to him. "Here," he would say, "is the very type of my own humanity. Here is affliction, suffering, sorrow, injury, detraction, wrong, — a struggle with temptations and difficulties; and all sustained with an evident inward serenity, courage, and joy. What meekness

armed him against hostility; what divine trust against calamity; what triumph bore him up amidst the depths of agony and the shadows of death! Neither surrounding tumult nor gathering terror entered into his *soul; there* all was calm, while the storm raged without; *there* all was blessedness, though the miseries of life, from a full cup, were given him to drink. But it was the cup which his Father gave him; it was the misery which Heaven's will ordained for his trial and his triumph; and it was received with a filial reliance, — it was received, as if he knew that which was afterwards recorded of him, that he was to be made perfect through sufferings." "Could I live like this being," would the meditative reader say, — "could I breathe his spirit; could I enter into his joy; surely then would the dark and painful problem of my life be solved into perfect light; the cloud would be lifted up, and the way of life — filled with care and toil and grief, and trodden with many heavy steps — would show like a way of triumph and glory."

I beg the reader to bring his mind to this point. I cannot go into instances of what Jesus was as a sufferer. But do you not see that whosoever should meditate upon the life of Christ, with a living sympathy; whose mind soever should be brought into a glowing admiration and love of his patience, gentleness, serenity, and holy self-forgetfulness and self-sacrifice; — whosoever should lay his heart, if I may speak so, to the heart of that divinest friend and Saviour, would be fast growing into his likeness — would be rapidly attaining to the truest wisdom and happiness of life? Christ's life is the exemplar of our life; and our special concern with it is to see in it the model of our own — to see how to live — to see it, in everything, save its official grandeur, and, if I may so say, its circumstantial shadings — for there was in it, the high resolve, and the subdued, almost the saddened tone of a great enterprise, — to see it, I say, saving in some peculiar traits, as our example. The happy dwellers in a country are not to live precisely as did the solemn, sad, determined patriots, who, through suffering and death, wrought out its deliverance; but who would not pray that the essential virtues of those heroic and martyred fathers might dwell in their children?

Now, it is especially to a meditation on the sacrifice of Christ, on the truths disclosed and the virtues manifested in it, that the communion season invites us. "This do," says our Saviour, "in remembrance of me." And let me say, distinctly and

emphatically, that it is only through this meditation, this remembrance of Christ, that we can receive the blessing he designed to communicate. It is not in any mystic way. There is no mysterious virtue in the act of communing. It is only by meditation, by fixed attention, that we can receive anything into our minds. Would you possess any virtue? Would you drink in the spirit of any life? What have you to do, — what *can* you do, but earnestly contemplate it.

Therefore does it seem to me good and meet, that all Christians; all who would indeed be Christians, should gather together, from time to time, in commemoration of the sacrifice, the patience, the forgiveness, and love of Jesus. Could but these simple virtues be wrought into any heart — how would all settle into peace there — into calm repose, and deep satisfaction, and divine blessedness!

Good has it often seemed to me, to enter into some ancient and venerable temple, whose altar-steps had been worn by the knees of pilgrims and penitents from far distant countries and ages; whose pavements had been trodden by successive generations; whose walls had grown hoary amidst the flight of centuries. An odor of sanctity seemed to fill the place. A solemn presence seemed to be there; the mind was carried up above the world; it was translated out of its ordinary and earthly frame; all worldly strifes and griefs died away; *that* was none other than the house of God, — it was the gate of heaven. But how much more do all earthly, all unholy passions die away, amidst that scene, brought down from the birth-time of Christianity itself, consecrated to its sublimest theme, its tenderest recollections, and its most inspiring promises! "For, as often," says our Saviour, "as ye do eat of this bread and drink of this cup, ye do show forth the Lord's death till he come." Let any one approach this scene; let him come, from whatsoever state or condition where the hard conflict of life is carried on; from the house of merchandise or from the abode of affliction, — from strifes with his neighbor, from contests of ambition, or the bustle and bitterness of a political canvass, — yes, let him come *with* his neighbor to this holy communion and commemoration; and will not the mild countenance and voice of the common Master, of the crucified one, speak to him salutary, solemn, and gracious lessons? Will it not be good for him to be here? Will not the spirit that breathes around this holy rite — this gathering place of all the Christian ages — this

altar-place for prayer and penitence through centuries — this great symbol-rite that celebrates redeeming sorrow and peace-speaking blood, that sets forth the prostration of all earthly powers and principalities before the majesty of forgiveness and love — will not all this raise the man above the world? Will it not make him feel the littleness of all human strifes, of all worldly pretensions, of all the passing fashions of this world? Truly, and strictly speaking, it is true — all that is evil in the world nowhere finds its grand antagonist principle so clearly and powerfully set forth, as in this very altar of communion.

Meet it is, then, that we gather around this altar. It is no vain, no idle ceremony; no arbitrary, no merely commanded institution. It is a simple commemoration, a simple meditation; so do I regard it; but no meditation on earth seems so needful, so pertinent to me, as a sinful and suffering creature, as that which is commended to me here. Neglected may this scene be, as unnecessary; or rejected, as unauthorized; yet, if I were left to the simple determination of my own judgment, of my own conscious needs, I should say, that nowhere in the world is there such reality to my feelings as here. I speak not of a form now, but of that which the form meaneth. And I say and verily believe, that the meanings of this holy rite have more to do with my happiness, than any other event, any other transaction, any other era, in the great train of human history. Suppose me only to feel these two things — that I must have this excellence of Christ, that I must have the spirit of the cross, or I cannot be happy; and that I can have this excellence only by meditation — that it can by no possibility be got in any other way — and then is not my conclusion, and my course a very plain one? And that I feel that I want this spirit, that I am sinful and unworthy — that my mind is daily exposed to break out into anger, or to sink in worldliness and sense, — is that any objection to my coming to bow my soul before the great example of purity and meekness, and the great testimony of God's forgiving pity? Nay, it is the very argument for my coming, provided I sincerely desire to conquer my pride and passion and sin in every form. The plea of unfitness should be given up for one of these reasons. If it is sad and solemn, who does not see that it is no proper obstacle? If it is indifferent and worldly, it should be cast away as insincere. "But, ah!" says one, "I should be struck with horror to find myself seated at the communion!" Alas! the subject is sur-

rounded with superstitions. Not in one generation, perhaps, are they to be removed, much less in a brief essay like this.

Yes, there are difficulties. Let us briefly consider them.

One says that he feels a kind of dread — almost of horror, at the thought of approaching this service. Why, I ask, this horror? What is there, — what can there be, more solemn in the act of communing, than in the act of praying? The latter is the most immediate approach to God. There is not, and there cannot be, an act in the universe, more justly fitted to fill us with awe, than that. And yet we come and put ourselves in the attitude of prayer, without any shrinking or dread. Be assured that there is, and there must be, some superstition about this rite of the Communion, that leads us to make such an irrational and unauthorized difference between it and everything else that is sacred. It was not so at the beginning. It was not intended to be so ever. Ages of error have distorted and darkened this simple and beautiful ceremonial, this sacrament of holy friendship, this rite of the affections. There is an order of devotees known in the Catholic Church, as "children of the sacred heart." This is *the rite of the sacred heart.* Originally it was a memorial of Christ, an expression of religious veneration for his character, his teaching, his living patience, his dying pain, his triumphant resurrection. If any feel this sentiment now, why shall they not express it in the way he has sanctioned and blessed? There have been ages when men felt the same horror of *prayer*, as a personal and solitary offering. Many felt that they could not pray without the priest; that it would be sacrilege to pray without him! It is all superstition! It is the superstition of minds that are devoid of all sacred and blessed familiarity with things divine.

But, again, one may say, "the Communion is a bondage to me. I am not struck with any horror at participation. I do not feel that this rite has any peculiar sanctity; it is no more sacred nor awful to me than the act of prayer. But still I feel a constraint about this rite. My thoughts do not easily mingle with it; my feelings do not freely flow in it; there seems to me something unnatural about it; it may have been easy to the ancients, with whom religious feasts were familiar, but eating and drinking seem to me to be strangely associated with the expression of religious sentiments; the elements, I feel to be in my way; they do not help, but hinder me. In short, if I can be a Christ-

ian — if I can cherish devout affections, without this rite, I should prefer to be excused from it." Such is the difficulty.

Now, in the first place, I do not urge upon it the *command* — which might be thought to put an end to all difficulties; because it is not a feeling of disobedience with which I am contending, but a feeling of bondage *in* obedience. The objector, I suppose, to be a devout man; he wishes to "walk in all the commandments and ordinances of the Lord blameless;" but he feels a difficulty about this ordinance in particular; a difficulty which seems to him peculiarly modern, and which leads him almost to doubt, whether the command could have been intended for all ages.

In the next place, I do not feel warranted to threaten the neglecter of this rite, with perdition. I do not say that salvation depends upon this, more than upon any other rite; more than upon private prayer or public worship. The question really is, in my opinion, not whether this rite is necessary to save a man, but whether it is fitted to *help* a man in his religion. A man may say, he has difficulties about *prayer;* and many have difficulties. Shall I fail, therefore, to urge it upon him, as a thing very essential to his religious growth? A youth may dislike a particular branch of study; he may say that it is a burden and bondage to him. But you may see that it is very important to his thorough education, and you may therefore well urge it upon him; for although he may be educated, he cannot be so well educated without it. So in religion; we may not say to the neglecters of the communion — to the Society of Friends, for instance, or to those who imitate them — you have no religion and can have none, without this rite; but we may say, have you not left out of your discipline, one important means of religion?

This, then, being the ground taken — what upon this ground have we to say to those who feel these difficulties? In reply to this question, I would desire them fairly to consider these difficulties; to consider, first, whether they are not, in fact, irrational and superstitious; next, whether they do not belong to a piety too generalizing and lax; and, finally, whether deeper views of life and duty would not bring them over to another feeling, and make the Communion meditation most natural and grateful to them.

First, is not the objection irrational and superstitious? Are not the constraint and bondage you feel your own fault, and there-

fore to be corrected? You feel nothing of this when you go to an entertainment to celebrate a birth-day, or to commemorate some great event, or some great man, signalized in the history of the country. You do not then say, that eating and drinking are strangely associated with the expression of a sentiment. If you feel this in religion, then I say, you do not put yourself on the ground of nature but off from it; your feeling is not natural, but artificial and superstitious. It is because the occasion is *religious* that you feel thus — thus unnaturally in fact; and this is the very essence of superstition. In the Lord's Supper we celebrate the greatest event in the world; the consummation of the grandest story that the world ever heard; we celebrate it with less ministering to the body indeed, but in a manner nevertheless substantially accordant with the usages, not only of ancient but of modern times.

In the next place, I pray you to consider whether there is not something too generalizing in the religious feeling that is averse to the Communion? Does it come sufficiently near to Christ, I will not say in the Communion, but in any way? A personal reference and regard to him, is a part of our religion. To bring near to us his very life, his very death, and the very spirit and manner of his living and dying, is a leading feature of the great discipline of Christianity. Abstractions of truth there had been before; the world wanted a Saviour: systems of truth; the world wanted a life. Doubtless, at first, the danger was that of making too much of Christ as a mere person, and that danger has continued long. But now, in the reaction from those views, the danger is of too much generalizing; of sinking the historical view of Jesus into a vague spiritualizing about him, and of thinking this spirituality all-sufficient. The truth of Jesus is not all that commends him to us; the life of Jesus is more. Not then, when Jesus taught, was spiritual truth first taught; but then was it first lived in perfection. To the living and dying Jesus, therefore, must the disciples of Christianity especially and steadfastly look; and to this view are they emphatically held by the rite of the Communion. It dismisses abstract excellence, and sets before us the model of living and dying virtue. It bids us have done with generalities and follow Christ. Good Christians enough are we perhaps, *in the general;* but do we follow Christ? Many admire him, but few follow him. "Many are called, but few are chosen."

Once more, and finally, I have asked if there are not deeper

views of life, which commend to us the meditation and the vow which are implied in the Communion. In nothing does life seem to me to be less understood, than in the depth, the power, the might, the awfulness that belong to it. We think it something trivial, superficial, worldly; but it is not so, and never can be. The wisest of us are apt to be fancy-beguiled in this matter. Look at yonder country cottage, on a green bank; a sheltering wood on one side; on the other, a sparkling stream; and around, a small domain of waving grain-fields, and pastures covered with flocks! Does it not seem to you that it is the very bosom of peace and quiet enjoyment? Does it not seem to you as if worldly passions had retired from that peaceful spot, and all within were serenity and happiness? And so you think, perhaps, that you will one day go and live there. But be not deceived. There, even there, is carried on the inward strife of passions, desires, hopes, fears, that fill every human bosom. There, every day, is a spiritual struggle; conscience and pride and sense and, perhaps, tongues of discord are in fearful contention. And what is *there*, is *here*, — is everywhere. Everywhere life embosoms an awful experience. Everywhere it is beset with dread foes. Everywhere a fearful destiny presses upon it. It is a land of probation and of peril through which we walk.

Now, in such a pilgrimage, I deem it good to come, from time to time, to a place — to an altar, which sets before me the consummation of that great work by which God has designed to redeem us from the greatest evils of life — from that which only, in comparison, is evil — from the power of evil passions. I deem it good to come there to meditate and pray. I deem it good to come there, and to vow obedience to my life's leader and Redeemer. I would come to it, and would say, "O altar, on which my Saviour was slain! upon thee would I swear fidelity; erring, wandering, forgetful, here would I renew the great vow of life; here, in suffering, in sorrow, in death, did Jesus conquer — through meekness, through love, through forgiveness; so let me conquer; I am poor, I am weak, I am unworthy; help me, O thou mighty power of God, according to the promise which thou hast sealed in blood upon this holy altar; —

'Guide me, O thou Great Jehovah!
Pilgrim through this barren land:
I am weak, but thou art mighty;
Hold me with thy powerful hand.
Bread of Heaven! Bread of Heaven!
Feed me till I want no more.'"

O. D.

ART. IV. — *A Broad Foundation the only Sure One. A Sermon preached in Mill Hill Chapel, Leeds.* By CHARLES WICKSTEED, Minister of the Chapel. On the Powerlessness of Creeds and Articles to produce Identity of Opinion, and the Necessity of Christian Liberty and Union: Illustrated by reference to general and local events. Leeds, 1841. pp. 23.

WE constantly see discourses like the one before us, issuing from the Unitarian pulpit of England. They strongly illustrate the condition of religion generally, in that country, and of our own sect in particular. They breathe of struggle and uneasy position; they are filled with remonstrance and aspiration; with remonstrance, which we fear is little regarded, and aspiration but coldly heard. They protest against the demands of the Church, and they rebuke the inconsistencies of dissent; but the Church in haughtiness despises the protest, and dissent is heedless of the rebuke. The establishment and the sects, both equally false to the great principles of Protestantism, and both equally violent in a contest in which party spirit is the strongest impulse, combine to pass the sentence of heresy against Unitarians, and thus practically to pass sentence of condemnation on the use of Christian liberty. It is therefore for this privilege divested of all extraneous associations, that Unitarian preachers, and Unitarian preachers alone, are incessantly contending. Unaided in the battle, they are compelled to watch every occasion, when an impression may be made. The Oxford movement has brought out the doctrine of church authority in undisguised consistency, and afforded such an occasion. Mr. Wicksteed, with others of his brethren, has not allowed it to vanish unimproved. Doctor Hook, one of the ablest and most zealous among the Oxford divines, ministers in the same town as Mr. Wicksteed; both are at extremes of the theological category; Mr. Wicksteed for the great peculiarity of Protestantism, and Doctor Hook for the great peculiarity of Popery; one the defender of private judgment, and the other the defender of priestly supremacy. The discourse before us is written with plainness and power. The thoughts are simple and forcible, the language is earnest and honest; all is direct and to the point, with a clearness that distinctly marks its aim, and a vigor that exactly hits it.

The operation of creeds and churches on the religious inter-

ests of men, the special topic of this discourse, we shall make the subject of a few general reflections.

Unitarians have the deepest interest in this controversy, for they are most affected by it. No church can decide any question more awful — for none more awful can be proposed — than man's salvation. No assumption higher than this can infallibility itself approach. Concerning Unitarians, the decision has been made, and the sentence denounced is that of damnation — hopeless and eternal. Now, this is a fearful declaration, and implies a guilt the most dark and deep-dyed. But supposing the Unitarian sincere, in what does his guilt consist? It cannot be in denying the Deity of Christ, because, if that be truth, he denies it in mistake. Yes, replies the Catholic or Oxford churchman, but he wilfully deserts the source of infallible wisdom in the Church by which he would have been enlightened. He acts in the pride of private judgment, and he perishes in it. This so far is intelligible and consistent. The Orthodox Congregationalist mocks at infallible authority claimed for churches, but maintains that the Unitarian incurs perdition by his rejection of the Scripture. The Unitarian denies such an inference; on the contrary asserts, that he submits to what in his best judgment is the sense of Scripture. Here, then, are two opposing interpretations, both private and both honest, but the Orthodox assumes to be the very mind of God, and in that assumption condemns the Unitarian to eternal pain; determines the doctrine and fixes the penalty. Rome, in all her pride and pomp of power, in all her spiritual despotism, her high associations of historic antiquity, and holy names, could no more. Find my infallibility in the Bible, or you are lost, says the Church. Find the doctrine of the vicarious sacrifice in the Scripture — for I have found it — says the Orthodox theologian, or you are a child of wrath. In either case the Unitarian is sent to hell for the convictions of his judgment, and by the small tribunal as dogmatically as by the great. A knot of little zealots, in a shingle school-house, will fulminate excommunications with as fierce a fire, as a college of cardinals or a council of Trent; nay, the rudest brawler whom a sect places in its meanest pulpit will deal forth anathema against heresy, as confidently as if he wielded all the power the Vatican ever claimed, with a bigotry unsoftened by a single misgiving of personal fallibility.

It is not among the least of human oddities, surely, this arro-

gant sufficiency, which can paraphrase a text of Scripture into an eternal curse of millions, and call such curse the word of God. For example; He that believeth not shall be damned, will stand thus with the gloss of our Orthodox interpreter. He that believeth not, that is, believeth not what I believe, or as I think he ought to believe — believeth not the trinity, &c., shall be damned, and that eternally. If we are not to have freedom, let us, at least, have something that may claim our reverence; let us have authority enshrined in solemn grandeur, speaking with the wise eloquence of a Bernard or a Fenelon, which, if it forbids independence, dignifies submission.

The Oxford controversy has one eminent use; it limits the discussion on religious authority to a distinct and definable position; it assumes ground for the Church where opponents can see with what they battle, and it puts Congregational Orthodoxy on its defence with all its inconsistencies on its head. Congregationalism orthodox is extremely offended at being classed with Congregationalism heritical; denounces Unitarians as disciples of Satan, to evince its zeal for Christ, then writes the maxim of Chillingworth on its banner, and goes forward doughtily to maintain, that "the Bible, and the Bible alone, is the religion of Protestants," and Protestants are Independents, Baptists, and all others who believe the Bible, as they believe it. The Oxford agitation suggests with special prominency this great question, What is the relation of the individual soul to religion? Does it decide for itself? If so, may sincere and honest conviction — even in error, be attended with eternal damnation? If this may be, who is to decide the error, and who is to pronounce the penalty? Considering the weakness of reason, the force of prejudice, the incessant liabilities of human nature to mistake, individual freedom subject to this catastrophe is a most horrible privilege, and, as variety and even contradiction of opinion proves the Bible to be obscure, the Bible itself may be a sentence of death as well as a charter of life. Is there, then, some living guide, which is a safe authority? Is there refuge, a tribunal, to which the scared and erring intellect can flee from danger and from doubt, to find peace in submission and salvation in obedience? What presumptuous bigots shall say there is not, and yet hurl "the eternal curse of an eternal God at hearts, that throb as sensitively as their own?" God must even be worse than bigots describe him, if he delivers men over to an imperfect intellect, and then damns them for its imperfection.

An infallible church or free thought is the only alternative. There is no medium; neither the authority nor the faith in it can be partial. The Oxford party see this, and with perfect consistency take their side with the Church of Rome. Nor is the assumption of this church so very outrageous after all. For is it any marvel that an institution of fifteen centuries should do that, of which a self-satisfied sectary makes no scruple? Who, this hour, sputters against Rome in magniloquent abuse, and the next, does all his feebleness admits to mimic her anathemas; to imitate her thunders with a penny trumpet, and her lightnings in his brimstone squibs.

We know nothing in any aspect of religious history which gives us more despondency for human nature, than these disputes on the terms of faith, and all the renewed efforts to define them. It seems as if there was one direction in which the past left no experience, or experience no wisdom; as if there was one stolid folly, deaf and blind, which, hearing no voice and seeing no change, maintained its dark identity in the midst of light and through every movement. What has been proved, if not the infinite versatility of our spiritual nature? And in no sphere has this been made more evident, than in the Christian church. What has been more varying than creeds, except the opinions they would exclude? What has been more prolific than definitions of heresy, except the heresies they would define? In these doings, the curiosities of theology furnish a page of marvellous copiousness in the history of intellectual eccentricities. In the place of one heresy decided and condemned, twenty arise that alike defy decision or condemnation, that are equally indifferent to logic and to martyrdom. An assembly of alarmed ecclesiastics have but risen to return home with a pleasant consciousness that they have crushed a monstrous heresy on the trinity, when a whole cluster have sprung out on the subject of every person. They have decided that Christ is God; and it is denied that he is man. They have decided that he is man; and it is denied that he is God and man. They have decided that he is God and man; and, then, one says he is God and man in this way, and another says he is in that. They have no sooner established all concerning Christ, and taken consolation to themselves that his glory is in safe keeping, than work multiplies upon their hands to settle the personality and procession of the Holy Spirit; and these do not close their toil, for the nature and influence of the Spirit become occasion to a thousand

varieties on the doctrines of grace. Now, if there had been nothing but the simple expression of ecclesiastical authority to quell these divisions of opinion, some might consider them but the idle speculations of indolence; but no; they have been proof against all sorrow and all suffering. Men have not been deterred from forming forbidden convictions, nor from their utterance, by rack, dungeon, stake, or gibbet. They have confessed them in the flame, they have defended them in the torture. Armies with fire and slaughter have found that in destroying bodies, they could not kill souls; and the Inquisition, gaunt and hideous as it was, learned after ages of cruelty, that though it deepened terror, it could not suppress thinking. How puny, therefore, must all machinery be — whether political or ecclesiastical — to resist this inevitable law of mind and of God. Yet, the impossibility, if acknowledged, is not even in these days acted on, should we judge the spirit that operates by the results that are manifested. Sects assume not only a condemnatory and repulsive aspect towards those without, but a despotic power over those within. Organization may be made as powerful in Protestantism as in Popery, and moral means as fearful as physical; terror, prejudice, every spiritual engine of the spirit may do all the work of racks, and the blackness of an adverse public opinion may be more gloomy to the soul than prisons. This tendency of sectarian repulsion divides and embitters the community, and destroys both its charity and its strength. If the separations into which we see society broken went no farther than peculiarities in religious doctrine and worship — there might be some matters for regret, yet there would be many for consolation. But when we perceive that they undermine the brotherly love upon which alone peace and good-will can rest, and the united sympathy by which only gracious and generous works can be advanced, no language is too strong to express the sorrow which such a moral condition should inspire. Great and godlike sentiments are lost in sectarian disquisitions, and great and godlike duties are frittered amidst sectarian jealousies. Those common energies of benevolence, that should be concentred on objects gigantic enough to tax them all, are turned away as fashion or fanaticism urges. Instead of moving a lever that would move a world, each seeks its own narrow path, and pushes its own small go-cart. Christian sects are bickering about straws, while Christianity herself weeps over regions of suffering in all the bitterness of her merci-

ful heart. While sin, sorrow, wrong, injustice, cry together throughout the earth for remedy; while wickedness walks in crime, and wretches are lying down by millions in darkness and death, those who ought to be together in the field are beating each other on the way; quarrelling as around a modern Babel, in every possible dialect of abuse. Instead of working in the spirit of charity, they gather to fight over her corpse.

Establishments add another element of strife and embarrassment. The vagarious phenomena of doctrine and discipline, within that of England just now, are not a little instructive. The Church of England at present is a chaos of parties and paradoxes. It has factions of all sorts — high, low, middle, and mixed; some claiming one position, and some another; some maintaining its identification with the state, some its independence and supremacy; but all accepting the power and the wealth which the government confers. The theologians of Oxford will have it, that the Church is altogether of divine origin and authority. Yet acts of Parliament define its entire constitution, its clergy, its creeds, its liturgy; by law it enforces its discipline, above all, collects its tithes; by law it exists as a national institution, and without law it could not so exist an hour. Standards of doctrine, too, do no more in the church, to settle faith, than they do out of it; they are as fatal to liberty, and still more fatal to conscience; credentials to official position and official power, they are subscribed with equal indifference to common sense and common honesty. To this man they mean one belief, to that they mean the opposite, to a third they mean nothing. "One bishop declares of the articles, that he never met with a single clergyman who believed the whole of them; and another bishop, in the very same place and at the very same time, that he never met a single clergyman who did not."* It is not that ministers of the Church believe doctrines contradictory to her standards, but those are now found who teach openly the very doctrines which by name her standards denounce. Nay, not content with resistance to the plainest rules of interpretation, they would reverse the fundamental laws of thought, and bewilder men into the conviction, that there is no opposition to the Church in defending the practices which she condemns. The reasoning in the Tract for the Times, No. 90, comes logic-

* Discourse, p. 17.

ally to this result. The standards of the Church specifically denounce purgatory as a priestly imposition, invocation of saints and the mass as idolatry against God and subversive of Christ's mediation; but Mr. Newman, after a manner peculiar to himself, asserts, that to hold or even to preach them, does no violence to the authority he has sworn to uphold. And the vile sophistry which justifies such conduct by the quibble, that the authors of the articles did not contemplate the forbidden tenets in the view this one or that now maintains, makes the moral perversion as base as it can be; destroys all good faith, and renders it quite possible, to promise anything required, and to perform anything we please. With this latitude, we might pledge ourselves to Christianity, and yet inculcate Islamism, provided we could prove that *our* special mode of inculcation involved a reserved peculiarity, which Christianity had never contemplated. Instances of this flagitious character take away our wonder at all inferior violations of religious simplicity and sincerity, if the constancy of such violations had not already turned it into mere natural expectation. It is well understood, that subscription does not imply assent; nay, that it does not infer indifference; it is equally well known, that men are allowed to disavow in private, what under penalty they are compelled to utter in public. Prebendary Woodhouse, a clergyman, whose conscience rebels against his creed, has recently published a statement of his case, from which the author of the Discourse before us quotes in an appendix, the following passage. In a letter to one of the Bishops, in 1836, he says, "May I beg your Lordship to consider my situation? I subscribe in the usual form in early years. Afterwards I discover what on full consideration I cannot approve. I think it wrong to conceal my sentiments. I consult several Bishops. My objections are said to be allowable. I remark that I cannot satisfactorily conceal them. It is answered the church will not censure you, if you make them known. I make the experiment; but when I endeavour to obtain an *open sanction*, it is denied me, and then I am stigmatized as improperly retaining my preferment. I now therefore seek the open sanction of the church, or its Bishops, to *opinions not condemned in private*; and endeavour to show that in relieving me a general benefit might be obtained. I have never supposed that relief was to be given to me alone; but desire to see these comprehensive principles established, which Archbishop Wake has so well expressed in his letter to Turretin,

as I find it in Mosheim." Here is another extract yet more plainly significant: "May 4, 1829, I waited on the Archbishop of Canterbury, to whom the subject had been mentioned in the previous year, and stated fully my objections and consequent difficulties. During a long conversation not a word was uttered implying even a censure on my opinions; and the general tenor and result of this interview may be faithfully described in the following words of the Archbishop. '*You have done your duty in stating your difficulties to the heads of the Church; if they do not think proper to move, you may be satisfied, and say, Liberavi animam meam.*' In the course of this conversation, I mentioned the different opinions given by various eminent writers of our Church as to the Athanasian creed, and its condemnatory clauses. The answer of the Archbishop was, '*Well — none of these opinions have been condemned, take which suits your own views, and be satisfied.*'" The levity and naivetè of this reply reminds us of Sheridan, in one of his answers to an irritated and importunate author, when he was dramatic manager. The wit had lost the manuscript of a play given him for perusal. Morning after morning, the anxious writer demanded a decision or his drama. The manager at last driven from every excuse, declared the truth; threw open a drawer full of tragedies, desired him to choose any half-dozen of them, and be satisfied. The manager, however, gave as little content to the play-wright as the Archbishop to the Prebendary. "May 7, 1829, I had," he says, "an interview with the Bishop of London, to whom the subject had been also mentioned in the preceding year, and with whom I left a copy of the same petition. From his lordship, I heard the following opinions, which are given in his own words. '*As to the damnatory clauses in the Athanasian creed, I wish them explained as much as you can do. I would not abolish the creed from the liturgy; I would use it once a year, perhaps, on Easter-Day. I think a time of peace the time for such alterations. Why cannot you be content, as I think you ought to be, having mentioned your scruples to the heads of the church, and leave it to us, to make the change at the proper time? What good can you get by going to the House of Lords?*' ANSWER: The good, my Lord, of public authority for maintaining the opinions I do. THE BISHOP: '*You may hold your opinions openly now: the church will not condemn you: others hold the same.*'"

This mode of reconciling conscience and cotradiction is not

more curious in reference to doctrine, than it is to discipline. The Bishop at Ordination commissions the minister to preach according to the standards of the Church; the minister solemnly undertakes to do so. In course of time and thought the minister entertains irreconcilable objections; he informs the Bishop; the Bishop, now, not only permits him, but encourages him still to hold his office, and to perform those functions in a state of unbelief, which he undertook to do in a state of faith. The Bishop knows the change of his heart, but he asks only the obedience of his mouth; his soul rejects the doctrine, but his lips must move in accordance with the ritual. This is only one case, where there are a million. The Bishop himself in consecration engages to banish with all his power false doctrine from the bounds of his jurisdiction. "The Book of Homilies," which, as he has sworn, doth contain a *godly and wholesome doctrine*, denounces the mass as *idolatry;* but Mr. Newman, one of his clergy, flatly contradicts the homily, and proclaims the mass a holy and acceptable sacrifice.

Here, then, is a Bishop bound by his oath to hold his suffragan a defender of idolatry, and as such, to expel him from the Church; and, here is a suffragan, professing all submission to his Bishop, yet if he believes what he has written, bound to consider both the prelate and the homilies at variance with sacred and inspired antiquity. But the Bishop tolerates Mr. Newman; Mr. Newman acknowledges reverence to the Bishop; and both, wide as the poles asunder, live in the same church together. This same Mr. Newman, with unsparing anathema, unchristianizes all beyond that very Church, whose authority he himself makes void, and whose decisions he repudiates.

All this is not wholly without import to ourselves, either as Americans or as Unitarians. If the morbid desire for a religious establishment could by possibility enter an American imagination, that of England affords a lesson which only a most miraculous folly can resist. We have before us the results of experience without the price of its penalties. Our country has already resolved two problems, that not long ago, a stubborn tory Briton could not have reached in remotest dream; — even now with the facts in open light he does his utmost to deny them — namely, the existence of good government without monarchy, and of religion without tithes. Whatever be the blessings ascribed to a church establishment, we willingly forego the blessings to escape the burden. We observe in England,

that every good which it promises it has left undone, and that every evil against which it is the boasted safeguard is reeking through the nation. We are not insensible to much of the picturesque and poetical association, which this, in common with other olden institutions, is surrounded. We listen with reverence to its noble liturgy, and with rapture to its solemn music. We gaze with no listless eye on its time-hallowed structures; we pace with no thoughtless hearts through holy and lofty aisles, whose silence seems the awe of judgment and eternity; whose echo seems the answer of a thousand years. We forget not that beneath us is the dust of the sacred and the brave; and around us are the voices of the mighty dead; we hear as from the tombs the eloquence which made our fathers tremble, or the prayers that gave them peace. Nor are we less affected by its more lowly places. When we have strolled in England through some sweet rural retirements, where White of Selborne might have studied nature, or sainted Heber might have preached the Gospel; when we have seen some venerable little church, and near it the quiet rustic parsonage, and surveyed the graves and tombs of humble guise, we thought of the generations that lay sleeping there, that were baptized in this sheltered temple, that Sunday after Sunday mingled their voices in prayer as they now mingle their ashes in death; we thought of the successive pastors who rested with their successive congregations; who prayed for them and with them, consecrating their afflictions and their joys; and we thought what power must he, who now ministers among them, have upon their hearts, exhorting them over the dust of their ancestors, and breathing supplications in which their fathers worshipped. But more acquaintance with the fact often dispelled the poetry; in not a few cases the parish knew nothing of its lordly rector; the house was rented by a harassed curate, who starved along on fifty pounds a year, while his aristocratic superior rejoiced in tithes unmoistened by the sweat of toil, amidst all the elegant revelries of Bath or Cheltenham. The deputy-priest would probably in a few years go down to his grave with premature grey hairs, bequeathing to an unsympathizing world his penniless widow and her orphans; in the mean time, the dignified apostle of the gospel of good things had received the possession or the promise of a bishopric. If we take the descriptions of many, nothing can be more perfect than the Church of England. It is the centre of unity; yet sects clamor

fiercely around, and factions storm loudly within. It is the ark of pure doctrine; but notwithstanding this, one party accuses another of treason to the Reformation, and that other retorts the accusation of treason to the Christian faith. It is a bulwark against fanaticism; yet, peasants, under the shadow of its primate's cathedral, hail with brawling and blood a madman as the second Christ.* Nor is it strange that boors should become extravagant, when scholars of its oldest college are laboring to restore the fastings and flagellations of the middle centuries. It is the refuge of the poor; the poor, however, by thousands abandon it, and those that remain have little care from it in life, or consolation from it in death. It is the friend of education; and in the face of such friendship, generations have grown up and died within it in hopeless ignorance; and multitudes even now are imploring, with importunity, a just and generous distribution of knowledge; and the national clergy alone stand between them and the boon. It is the nurse of piety; but crowds exist in crime and wretchedness for whom it has no mission, and thousands have been called into regenerated life by agencies which it met only by scorn and persecution. It is the scourge of infidelity and irreligion; yet the laboring classes, who are claimed mainly by the church, when friends desire to swell its numbers, are those who hail Robert Owen as the messenger of glad tidings, and his new world as the great redemption. Here, then, we have both its pretension and its practice. Thus it is in England; while in Ireland, by its monstrous rapacity and sinecure wealth — by its harsh antagonism to every native sympathy — by its alliance with the spirit of religious and political persecution which has eaten anger and anguish into the Irish heart — by its exactions gathered with a bloody hand from the unwilling and resisting, it has not only made protestantism detestable, but almost reduced it to extinction.

We do not profess to be without evils in the religious condi-

* A few years ago, a fellow named Thom, partly knave and partly maniac, professed to be Messiah, with a mission to convert and to exterminate. In the neighborhood of Canterbury, the peasants gathered about him in crowds, and such were the outrages and violence, that the military were called. The wretched dupes resisted with the desperation of faith; the impostor was killed, with both soldiers and peasants for his companions. Many believed he was to rise from the dead, and still believe he did.

tion of our country; but we have no evils which an Established Church would not have increased a hundred fold, and we have benefits which it would have destroyed. We have bigotry and fanaticism, it is true, enough and to spare; but we have no privileged bigotry — we have no fanaticism with vested rights. If assumption urges its extravagant claims, it must make them good, unprotected in the free field of open struggle and under the broad glare of public opinion, an antisocial spirit retreats or expires. Where every man can claim a hearing on equal ground, each in self-defence learns to be moderate, for the justice that he claims, he knows he must concede. Although we have here, therefore, religious dissensions sadly to be lamented, they never proceed to the degree they do in England, in the disruption of all neighborly community and charity. We continually notice a spirit in the manner in which English sects and parties allude to each other, which seems little to imply a common country or a common faith. The English do not scruple much to paint other nations in their follies; we esteem the English too well to paint them in their factions.

We have no fear that religion cannot maintain itself. We have faith in human nature on this point, and this faith is justified by all that we learn in the moral history of man. Seeing that God has given immortal longings to the soul, and Christianity to satisfy them, we know that until these desires perish, the gospel cannot fail of the modest means it needs. We do not want the religion of a lordly brow, but of a lowly spirit; we want her to rebuke pride, and not to practise it; and we are unable to see why she should be overloaded with the wealth she must teach others to despise. The Gospel is diffused and supported among us; a sufficiency is furnished from willing hearts for the decencies of worship and the comfort of its ministers. The neat white church points with its spire to the skies from many a heaven-kissing hill; the Sabbath bell is heard awakening, with joyful sound, the quiet of our valleys; the village parsonage, embosomed in beauty and in peace, not too plain for simple tastes, and not too small for humble hospitality, testifies, everywhere, that he who ministers at the altar is not permitted to perish when from the altar; the pastor is not above his people nor below them; he is faithful to their spiritual necessities, and they are not unfaithful to his temporal wants; he does not seek for luxury, and he can seldom fail of contentment. As Americans, we permit no establishment to tax us,

as Unitarians we permit no creed to enslave us. To this principle we are eternally pledged, to this we trust to be eternally faithful. We close with the following extract which is impressive and to the purpose. Urging Unitarians to maintain inviolable the spirit of Christian liberty, Mr. Wicksteed observes: — "This solemn duty devolves upon us. There is scarce another body of Christians in the world, — would that it were not so, — that stands upon this vantage ground; scarce another into whose spirit God has allowed to penetrate the light of this blessed truth. It sheds a halo of quiet repose and serenest confidence into our own bosoms. Why should it not shed the same into our brother's? Why not over the Christian world? We are persuaded that the supposition of God having attached damnation to the rejection or reception of any creed which churches have, however honestly, drawn up from what they considered the best sources, or to any doctrines which individual men have, however honestly, deduced to their own satisfaction from Scripture — is one founded in mistake, and having no warranty in Holy Writ. And while we regard this supposition as the source of all our unchristian bickerings, animosities, and bigotry, and as inimical to the best interests of society and of religion, we regard no man professing it as our enemy, nor would we wish him to regard us as his. We sincerely believe there is no other remedy for the disquiet occasioned to the conscientious and the good, for the illiberality and narrowness which suck up and destroy the Christian kindness of the serious, than the diffusion of this glorious, liberalizing truth, under the protection of whose shade men may gather themselves in peace, and agree to differ, namely, that in every sect and every nation, he that feareth God and worketh righteousness, is accepted of Him; that Jesus Christ came not to condemn the world, but that the world through Him might be saved."

H. G.

ART. V.—*Biblical Researches in Palestine, Mount Sinai, and Arabia Petræa, a Journal of Travels in the year* 1838. By E. ROBINSON and E. SMITH. *Undertaken in reference to Biblical Geography. Drawn up from the original Diaries, with historical Illustrations.* By EDWARD ROBINSON, D. D. *With new Maps and Plans in five Sheets.* 3 vols. 8vo. pp. 571, 679, 721. Boston: Crocker and Brewster. 1841.

IN looking over a catalogue of American publications which are advertised as for sale by a book firm in London, we have just for the first time realized how faithfully the former colonies of Great Britain are repaying to her certain literary obligations. It is but lately that we read a statement made on good authority to the effect, that theological and biblical learning and science were at present farther advanced in this country than in England. The catalogue before us goes far to verify the statement, as it contains the titles and commendatory notices of many translations and original works on Theology by American writers. Among these works, Professor Robinson's Hebrew and English Lexicon is in well nigh universal use in all British universities and seminaries, from Aberdeen to Oxford, and has been everywhere received with unqualified approbation. To his already high claims upon our gratitude and respect he has now added others, which can scarcely be overestimated in issuing from the press of England, Germany, and America, the important work whose title we have given above. Of course we are unequal to the task of criticising this work, but being impressed with its high value, we would introduce it to our readers. Professor Robinson had cherished for more than twenty years a part of the purpose which he has here fulfilled, but the success of his undertaking far exceeds his expectations. With the deep and enthusiastic interest in the Holy Land, implanted by an education under the best influences of New England institutions, long and deep study of the Sacred Scriptures, had excited in him an intense desire to see with his own eyes the places which are consecrated by the Jewish and Christian revelations. His biblical researches had introduced him to a knowledge of all that had been written by former travellers, and made him familiar with the difficulties attending the subjects upon which further information is desired. His main object was to prepare a work upon biblical geography; but he did not expect to make any

discoveries. He laments that he was not better provided with the proper instruments for exact observation. The work before us appears in the form of a diary, but, generally, upon important questions and subjects, the information attained at different times is brought together in one view. A personal narrative, embracing all the details and incidents of travel and adventure, is interwoven with the more solid matter of the volumes, and thus imparts lively interest to many pages which otherwise could scarcely fail to be tedious. "As here presented to the public, these volumes may therefore be said to exhibit an historical review of the Sacred Geography of Palestine, since the times of the New Testament, pointing out, under each place described, how far, and in what period it has hitherto been known." This applies to nearly the whole of Palestine west of the Jordan, comprehending of course all the scenes in Egypt which are associated with Jewish History, and a survey of which will illustrate the Scriptures.

An interesting introductory section records the particulars of the voyage across the Atlantic, of a visit to England and Germany, and then takes up his line of travel through Austria and Greece to Egypt. The arrangements for the journey are made with his companion, and good hopes seem to have cheered the stupendous undertaking before them. They knew they were soon to leave behind them most of the necessaries and conveniences of European travel, to carry their beds and their inns, their kitchens and their larders, and to change some long established habits for new customs which never would become familiar or agreeable.

Professor Robinson's companion throughout his journeys was the Rev. Eli Smith, his former pupil at Andover, and then and now, American missionary at Beirut. His residence at that station and his excursions over various portions of the east, had made him thoroughly acquainted with the mode of travel, and he had besides mastered the Arabic language, a qualification for Oriental researches which is second to no other. For the larger part of their journeys, the Rev. James Adger, of Charleston, South Carolina, was their companion. As their routes in their different excursions led them through the territory of various tribes of the Arabs, they were obliged, as a general rule, to change their guides and their attendants as the occasion demanded, the common law of the Bedouins, recognising the right of guidance through the different regions as belonging to its inhabitants.

Not unfrequently the head or Sheikh of the tribe was for the time being their attendant. The firmân, or passport of Mohammed Aly, was their chief security against violence and imposition. His authority is sternly exercised, and almost implicitly obeyed.

In some preliminary excursions around Alexandria and Cairo, Dr. Robinson examined the pyramids, sculptures, tombs, and mummy pits, and gives us information concerning them, which, if it embrace nothing new, may be depended upon for its exactness. All the requisite preparations for a journey of some thirty days through the desert being made, the travellers set forth on Monday, March 12, 1838, from Cairo, for Suez. We are pleased to notice in the very beginning of the narrative a characteristic which frequently appears throughout its whole length, we mean its strict veracity, its simple statement of the truth without any tendency to exaggeration for the sake of effect. Many of the bugbears, which the representations of former travellers have accumulated around a journey in the east, vanish before the common sense and honesty of the writer before us. There are here no horrific representations of danger to be apprehended from climate, beasts, or human beings. For appearance sake they took with them a pair of old muskets and pistols, with no intention of putting them to actual use; but they did not think it necessary to wear an Oriental dress, or a long beard; they did not find the plague in all directions, nor make any narrow escapes from crocodile's jaws; they discovered that the loud talking and the flourishes of the Arabs did not portend quarrel or murder, and they felt as safe in their journeys as if they were upon the best worn track of European travel. Their language and conduct in all these respects is a severe rebuke upon the descriptions of many preceding travellers, who would have us believe it wonderful that they have escaped with their lives from the various deadly dangers which surrounded them.

The following paragraphs present a brief and lively view of the travellers as they are about to start upon their wilderness march: —

"The preparations for a journey of some thirty days through the desert occupied a good deal of time. A tent was to be purchased and fitted up; water-skins were to be procured and kept full of water, which was to be changed every day in order to extract the strong taste of the leather; provisions were to be laid in for a whole month, as we could hope to obtain little either

at Suez or at the Convent; besides all the numerous smaller articles which are essential to the traveller's progress and health, even if he renounce all expectation of convenience and comfort. In all these purchases we were greatly indebted to the faithful services of our Janizary Mustafa, whom we remember with gratitude.

"We chose a large tent with a single pole. This was folded into two rolls, for which we had sacks; so that it was easily packed and loaded, and suffered little damage on the way. We had large pieces of painted canvass to spread upon the ground under our beds; and found these more convenient than poles or bedsteads; as the mattresses conld be rolled up in them during the day, and thus be protected from dust or rain. At a later period, when we came to travel with horses and mules in Palestine, we left our mattresses behind, taking only blankets and other covering, which might by day be thrown over our saddles. Indeed, if he choose, the traveller can very well do without either bed or tent, provided he has cloaks and covering enough to protect him from the night-chill. But to us it was important to keep a tolerably full record of our observations; and for this a tent and lights were necessary. Our provisions consisted chiefly of rice and biscuit. The latter is bulky; and at a later period we substituted for it flour, from which our servants made unleavened bread; this was baked in thin cakes upon an iron plate, and proved quite palatable and not unwholesome. Flesh may be obtained occasionally from the Arabs upon the way. With coffee, tea, sugar, butter, dried apricots, tobacco, wax-candles, etc., we were well supplied. We found the dried apricots quite a luxury in the desert; and a timely distribution of coffee and tobacco among the Arabs is an easy mode of winning their favor and confidence. We had wooden boxes, like those of the Mecca pilgrims, for packing many of the articles; but afterwards abandoned them for small sacks and larger saddle-bags of hair cloth, like those of the Bedawîn. These proved to be more advantageous, as diminishing the bulk of the loads, and thus removing a source of expense and a cause of grumbling among the camel-drivers and muleteers. We took also a supply of charcoal, which proved of essential service.

"We hired two Egyptian servants, who continued with us all the way to Beirût. The elder, whom we knew only by the name of Komeh, (although that seemed not to be his real name,) was a fine resolute fellow, faithful and trust-worthy in all he undertook, and ready to stand by us to the last drop of blood. He spoke nothing but Arabic; had formerly been sent with a missionary family to Abyssinia, as their guide and purveyor; and

had also been at Mecca; for which reason he was sometimes dignified with the title of Hajji Komeh. The younger, Ibrahim, spoke a little English, and answered our purpose well enough as a helper to the other.

"It was for a time quite a matter of deliberation with us, whether we should take any arms. We knew that the country was entirely safe, and arms unnecessary, as far as 'Akabah, and also in Palestine; but as to the desert tracts between, we were not so sure. We might very probably come in contact with the lawless hordes that roam through these wastes; and then the mere *show* of arms would protect us from annoyance and vexations, which might be attempted if we were known to be wholly unarmed. On this ground we purchased two old muskets and a pair of old pistols, in which our servants and Arab guides usually took great pride; and we afterwards had reason to believe that we had acted wisely. It will of course be understood, that we never had a thought of actually using these weapons for personal defence against the Arabs; for this, we knew, would only bring down tenfold vengeance on our heads.

"The time has gone by when it was necessary for a Frank to assume the oriental dress in any part of Egypt or Syria. It may sometimes be convenient to do so, if he is to reside long in the country; but in the case of the mere traveller, it now only excites the ridicule of the natives. A person in a Frank dress, with a long beard, they hold to be a Jew. We usually wore the *Tarbûsh* or red cap of the country, as a matter of convenience; but in the desert a broad-brimmed hat of light materials is desirable. We also took with us each a common Arab cloak, to throw over our Frank dresses in case of suspicious appearances at a distance; but we were never called to use them on any occasion of this kind.

"In consequence of an application from Mr. Gliddon, senior, we received from the Pasha a Firmân, or properly speaking a *Búyuruldy*, for our protection; and the English Vice-Consul, Dr. Walne, was so kind as to procure for us a letter from Habîb Effendi to the Governor of 'Akabah, and another from the Greek Convent in Cairo to that in Mount Sinai. At the English Consulate we also found Bedawîn from Sinai; many of whom are continually in Cairo with their camels, and are much employed in transporting coals from thence to Suez, for the steam-vessels on the Red Sea. We had wished to obtain Tuweileb as our guide, who has of late years become so well known among travellers; but he was not then in Cairo. We, therefore, with the help of the English Dragoman, made a contract for camels and attendants with Beshârah, who had formerly accompanied La-

borde, and was now grown into a man of weight in his tribe, though not a regular Sheikh. After a long talk and some clamor, the bargain was completed for three dromedaries and five camels, at the rate of one hundred and ninety piastres each, from Cairo to 'Akabah; it being also agreed that Tuweileb should accompany us from the Convent. The contract was immediately written down by an ordinary scribe upon his knee, and signed aud sealed in a very primitive manner. Most of the Arabs of the towns have each his signet-ring, either worn on the finger or suspended from the neck; the impression of which serves as his signature; but the poor Bedawy of the desert commonly has little to do with such matters, and has therefore no seal. Instead of it, Beshârah presented one of his fingers to the Dragoman, who besmeared the tip of it with ink, and then gravely impressed it upon the paper; which to him was then doubtless just as binding as if sealed with gold or jewels. He proved a very faithful and obliging conductor, and fulfilled his contract honorably. He was of the Aulâd Sa'îd or Sa'îdîyeh, one of the three divisions of the Tawarah Arabs which have the right of taking travellers to the Convent, and are reckoned as its Ghafîrs or protectors. Tuweileb, he said, was his brother; which probably meant no more, than that he belonged to the same tribe.

"We engaged our animals quite to 'Akabah, in order to avoid the trouble of making a new bargain at the Convent; and found the arrangement to be a convenient one. — The only difference between the camel and the dromedary is, that the latter is trained for riding and the former for burdens. The distinction, at the most, is the same as between a riding-horse and a pack-horse; but among the Bedawîn, so far as our experience went, it seemed to amount to little more, than that the one had a riding-saddle, and the other a pack-saddle." — Vol. I. pp. 49–53.

The travellers on leaving Cairo were soon out of the track of mile stones and familiar landmarks, and began to count progress by the hours of travel, and to note their position by the Wadys of the desert, which they crossed. These Wadys are to the natives the only landmarks of the region; they are depressions in the sandy or gravelly surface of the ground, by slight valleys; or by the dried bed of a water course. The first point of interest in biblical geography, which presented itself on their route, relates to the Exodus of the Israelites — their starting place from Egypt, their course through the Desert and the Red Sea, and their temporary resting place. As their numbers

were at least two millions, and as three days' time was the utmost which the narrative will allow to have been occupied by them in reaching the Red Sea, they could not have left Egypt from any place near Cairo, for the distance would have occupied five days of marching by one of the best appointed European armies. Dr. Robinson, therefore, concludes, that Goshen, "the best of the land," lay along the Pelusiac arm of the Nile, east of the Delta, and was the part of Egypt nearest to Palestine, and that their rendezvous at Rameses was about thirty or thirty-five miles from the head of that arm of the Red Sea, which is called the Gulf of Suez. The miracle by which the Israelites crossed dry shod over the bed of the Gulf, as described in the record, is what is called "a mediate miracle," that is, it was a supernatural application of natural means. The Lord caused the Sea to flow out by a strong east wind. In their language any wind which blows from a point of east is thus named. Just below the present site of Suez, the waters of the Gulf are contracted and shallow, while north and south of it they widen and deepen again. Now, a north-east wind, acting upon an ebb tide, would drive the waters from the contracted and shallow bed opposite to Suez, towards the south, and leave them tossed and agitated in their deeper receptacle above Suez. This arm of the sea, including the shallows, is here at its narrowest span, about two-thirds of a mile, and at its widest span about three or four miles. Even supposing, what is undoubtedly the case, that the bed of the waters has been contracted since the Exodus of the Israelites, the time during which the wind blew, being through the night, would have been sufficient to have produced the effect upon the waters, and to have allowed the passage of the wondering multitude, while the host of Pharaoh was submerged in the attempt to follow in the morning. Professor Robinson's reasoning on the route of the Israelites appears to be sound, and his representation of the alleged miracle helps to verify it without explaining away its Divine agency.

The next journey of the travellers was from Suez to Mount Sinai. At their evening encampment, on the spot which to them, on the strength of good reasons, seemed to have been the place where it was composed and first chanted, they sung the triumphant song of Moses, "I will sing unto the Lord, for He hath triumphed gloriously," &c. They endeavored to identify the fountain now called Hawarah, with the ancient fountain of Marah, "the bitter," but all they could satisfy them-

selves in believing was the probability that the supposition was correct. Near the spot thus designated grows a shrub, called by the Arabs, Ghŭrkŭd. Burckhardt suggests that the fruit of this shrub may have been used by Moses to sweeten the bitter waters; another probability. Professor Robinson seems early to have adopted a safe principle of judgment as to any attempts to identify the places famed in Scripture history with present localities. Had he been willing to receive the statements of his Arab guides as truths, he would have experienced no difficulty in finding a place for every name which his memory or his imagination might suggest. He had but to pronounce a name and ask his guides if they knew where the place lay, when they would at once point in one or another direction. Travellers have often been misled in this way, as well as by some real resemblances between the ancient and modern names of very different places.

The travellers took up their abode for some days at the Convent on Mount Sinai, and made a laborious examination of the surrounding region. The names Sinai and Horeb are used interchangeably in the Old Testament, to signify the place of the giving of the law. The author regards Horeb as the general name of the whole region, and Sinai as the name of the particular summit, which is reversing the common opinion. He thinks that the summit now called Horeb, was the scene of that awful and sublime event, the communication of the Jewish law. He approached the region with some misgivings of mind, fearing lest no extended spot of level ground should appear to present a resting place for the assembled multitude of the chosen people with their flocks and herds. But amid the recesses of the dark granite cliffs which surround Horeb, a wide level plain at once satisfied him that he had found the consecrated place. Faith must have grown by the open sight of such a wild and sombre region as is described in the Journal of the Travellers.

Dr. Robinson is decided in his opinion that the manna now found in the Peninsula of Mount Sinai is not to be regarded as the same substance which was afforded to the Israelites. The gum now known by that name is found upon the twigs and branches of the Turfa tree, from which it is made to exude on the puncture of an insect of the coccus kind. It does not agree in any respect with the substance described in the Books of Exodus and Numbers, and it is produced in such small quantities that the daily support of two millions of persons upon it would be as much a miracle as the creation of a new substance. The present manna is highly valued by pilgrims.

Dr. Robinson subjoins a very learned and interesting sketch of the history of Mount Sinai. Throughout the period of time embraced in the Scriptures, Elijah is the only Jew who is said to have visited the Peninsula. This is somewhat remarkable, when we consider how solemnly and intimately the spot was associated with the Jewish faith. From near the beginning of the fourth century the region began to be visited, and then occupied by Christian anchorites and hermits. Soon they peopled it more thickly than if it had been a village; it was conceived to be one of the holiest spots on earth, and it combined just such historic associations and natural features as to adapt it for the refuge of a mistaken piety. A succession of convents has been erected upon the various sites to which early tradition attached importance. The one now occupied is inhabited by twenty or thirty monks of the Greek Church, whose hopes and time are devoted to pilgrims from Europe and the east, who are entertained at the Convent. The monks have endeavored to accommodate both themselves and their visitors in the saving of time, by gathering together into a narrow compass the scenes of all the remarkable occurrences connected with the region.

We extract the passages which refer to the Sinai of the Old Testament, and to the present Convent.

"We came to Sinai with some incredulity, wishing to investigate the point, whether there was any probable ground beyond monkish tradition, for fixing upon the present supposed site. The details of the preceding pages will have made the reader acquainted with the grounds which led us to the conviction, that the plain er-Râhah above described is the probable spot where the congregation of Israel were assembled, and that the mountain impending over it, the present Horeb, was the scene of the awful phenomena in which the law was given. We were satisfied after much examination and inquiry, that in no other quarter of the peninsula, and certainly not around any of the higher peaks, is there a spot corresponding in any degree so fully as this to the historical account, and to the circumstances of the case. I have entered above more fully into the details, because former travellers have touched upon this point so slightly; and because, even to the present day, it is a current opinion among scholars, that no open space exists among these mountains. We too were surprised as well as gratified to find here, in the inmost recesses of these dark granite cliffs, this fine plain spread out before the mountain; and I know not when I have felt a thrill of stronger emotion,

than when in first crossing the plain, the dark precipices of Horeb rising in solemn grandeur before us, we became aware of the entire adaptedness of the scene to the purposes for which it was chosen by the great Hebrew legislator. Moses, doubtless, during the forty years in which he kept the flocks of Jethro, had often wandered over these mountains, and was well acquainted with their valleys and deep recesses, like the Arabs of the present day. At any rate, he knew and had visited the spot to which he was to conduct his people, — this *adytum* in the midst of the great circular granite region, with only a single feasible entrance; a secret holy place, shut out from the world amid lone and desolate mountains.

"The Israelites probably approached Sinai by the Wady Feirân; and entered the plain through the upper part of Wady esh-Sheikh. At least there is no conceivable reason, why they should have passed to the south of Mount Serbâl, and taken the circuitous and more difficult route near Tûr, and through the Wady Hibrân, as has often been supposed. From the desert of Sin, which I have above taken to be the great plain along the shore, to Sinai, three stations are marked, Dophkah, Alush, and Rephidim, equivalent to four days' journey for such a host; and this accords well with the distance of twenty-six to twenty-eight hours as usually travelled by camels.

"The names of Horeb and Sinai are used interchangeably in the Pentateuch, to denote the mountain on which the law was given; and this circumstance has naturally occasioned difficulty to commentators. The most obvious and common explanation is, to regard one (Sinai) as the general name for the whole cluster, and the other (Horeb) as designating a particular mountain; much as the same names are employed by the Christians at the present day. So too the Arabs now apply the name Jebel et-Tûr to the whole central granite region; while the different mountains of which it is composed, are called Jebel Kâtherîn, Jebel Mûsa, etc. On looking at the subject during our sojourn at the convent, I was led to a similar conclusion; applying the names however differently, and regarding Horeb as the general name, and Sinai as the particular one. Two circumstances seem to favor this conclusion. One is, that before and during the march of the Israelites from Egypt to the place where the law was given, the latter is called only Horeb; just as the Arabs now speak of going from Cairo to Jebel et-Tûr; while during the sojourn of the Hebrews before the mountain, it is spoken of (with one exception) only as Sinai; and after their departure, it is again referred to exclusively as Horeb. The other and main fact is, that while the

Israelites were encamped at Rephidim, Moses was commanded to go on with the elders before the people, and smite the rock in Horeb, in order to obtain water for the camp. The necessary inference is, that some part of Horeb was near to Rephidim; while Sinai was yet a day's march distant.

"The position of Rephidim itself can be conjectured only from the same passages to which reference has just been made. If we admit Horeb to be the general name for the central cluster of mountains, and that the Israelites approached it by the great Wady esh-Sheikh, then Rephidim must have been at some point in this valley not far from the skirts of Horeb, and about a day's march from the particular mountain of Sinai. Such a point exists at the place where Wady esh-Sheikh issues from the high central granite cliffs. We did not visit the spot; but Burchardt in ascending Wady esh-Sheikh towards the convent, thus describes it: 'We now approached the central summits of Mount Sinai, which we had had in view for several days. Abrupt cliffs of granite from six to eight hundred feet in height, whose surface is blackened by the sun, surround the avenues leading to the elevated platform to which the name of Sinai is specifically applied. These cliffs enclose the holy mountain on three sides, leaving the E. and N. E. sides only, towards the Gulf of 'Akabah, more open to the view. We entered these cliffs by a narrow defile about forty feet in breadth, with perpendicular granite rocks on both sides. [In this defile is the Seat of Moses, so called.] Beyond it the valley opens, the mountains on both sides diverge, and the Wady esh-Sheikh continues in a S. direction with a slight ascent.' The entrance to this defile from the west, is five hours distant from the point where Wady esh-Sheikh issues from the plain er-Râhah. This would correspond well to the distance of Rephidim; and then these blackened cliffs would be the outskirts of Horeb. I am not aware of any objection to this view, except one which applies equally to every part of Wady esh-Sheikh and the adjacent district, viz. that neither here nor in all this tract is there at the present day any special want of water. There is a well near the defile itself; and an hour above it a spring called Abu Suweirah, which we visited; besides others in various quarters. This difficulty I am not able to solve; except by supposing, that as the people appear to have remained for some time at Rephidim, the small supply of water was speedily exhausted.

"It was during the encampment at Rephidim that Amalek came and fought with Israel. It is not necessary here to look for a wide open plain, on which the battle might take place

according to the rules of modern warfare. The Amalekites were a nomadic tribe, making an irregular attack upon a multitude probably not better trained than themselves; and for such a conflict the low hills and open country around this part of Wady esh-Sheikh would afford ample space." — Vol. I. pp. 175 – 179.

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"The monks of Sinai lead a very simple and also a quiet life, since they have come to be on good terms with their Arab neighbors. Five centuries ago Rudolf de Suchem describes their life in terms which are equally applicable to them at the present day. 'They follow very strict rules; live chaste and modestly; are obedient to their archbishop and prelates; drink not wine but on high festivals; eat never flesh; but live on herbs, pease, beans, and lentiles, which they prepare with water, salt, and vinegar; eat together in a refectory without a table-cloth; perform their offices in the church with great devotion day and night; and are very diligent in all things; so that they fall little short of the rules of St. Antony.' To this day the same rules continue; they eat no flesh and drink no wine; but their rules were made before the invention of distilled liquors, and therefore do not exclude date-brandy. Yet they all seem healthy and vigorous; and those who remain here, retain their faculties to a great age. The lay brother who waited on us, had seen more than eighty years; one of the priests was said to be over ninety; and one had died the year before at the age of one hundred and six. A great portion of their time is nominally occupied in religious exercises. They have (or should have) regularly the ordinary prayers of the Greek ritual seven times in every twenty-four hours. Every morning there is a mass about 7 o'clock; and on Saturdays two, one at 3 A. M. and the other at the usual hour. During Lent the exercises on certain days are much increased; on the Wednesday which we spent there, the monks were at prayers all the morning until 12 o'clock; and again during the night from 10 till 4 o'clock.

"The pilgrims have of late years greatly fallen off; so that not more than from twenty to sixty now visit the convent annually. These, according to the Superior, are chiefly Greeks, Russians, and English; a few Armenians and Copts; and only now and then a Mussulman. The good father probably regards all visitors as pilgrims. Yet so late as the last century, regular caravans of pilgrims are said to have come hither from Cairo and from Jerusalem; and a document preserved in the convent mentions the arrival in one day of eight hundred Armenians

from Jerusalem, and at another time, of five hundred Copts from Cairo.

"Besides the branch at Cairo, the convent has many *Metochia* or farms, in Cyprus, Crete, and elsewhere. The Greek parish in Tûr is also a dependency; but not that of Suez. The convent has one priest in Bengal, and two in Golconda, in India. The gardens and olive-groves in the vicinity all belong to it; as also extensive groves of palm-trees near Tûr; but its chief revenues are derived from the distant *Metochia*. The gardens and orchards in the peninsula are not now robbed by the Arabs; but owing to the great drought of the two preceding years, they were less productive. In a few weeks the convent would have consumed all the productions of its own gardens, and expected to become dependent on Egypt for every thing. Their grains and legumes they always get from Egypt. Of these they were now consuming at the rate of about one thousand *Ardebs* a year, or nearly double the common rate, in consequence of the drought and scarcity, which rendered the Arabs much more dependent than usual upon the convent for bread. The date-gardens near Tûr commonly bring them in about three hundred Ardebs of fruit; and if properly managed, might yield five hundred.

"The inmates of the convent have now for many years lived for the most part in peace and amity with the Bedawîn around them. Occasional interruptions of the harmony indeed occur; but of late, and especially since the time of scarcity and famine, the consideration and influence of the monks among the Arabs would seem to be greatly on the increase. This is further enhanced by the awe in which the latter stand of the Pasha of Egypt; and the certainty, that any injustice practised by them against the convent would in the end recoil upon their own heads.

"Among the tribes or clans of the Tawarah, three are by long custom and perhaps compact, *Ghafîrs* or protectors of the convent; and hold themselves responsible for its safety and that of everything which belongs to it. These are the Dhuheiry, 'Awârimeh, and 'Aleikât. In return, the individuals of these clans are entitled to a portion of bread whenever they visit the convent. They formerly received also a cooked dish on such occasions; besides five and a half dollars each in money annually, and a dress for each male; but all these are no longer given. When in Cairo, they are likewise entitled to receive from the branch convent there two small loaves every morning, and a cooked dish every day at noon; and formerly they had in addition four loaves every evening, which, however,

had been stopped the present year. Besides all this, they have the exclusive privilege of conveying travellers and pilgrims to and from the convent.

"It may well be supposed that to satisfy all these claims in addition to the partial support of their own serfs, must draw largely upon the temporal resources of the convent. Yet the monks find it advisable to stop these many Arab mouths with bread, rather than expose themselves to their noisy clamor, and perhaps to the danger of sudden reprisals. The bakehouse of the convent is of course upon a large scale. At the time of our visit, they complained of not being able to obtain camels to bring their supplies of grain from Tûr; and from this cause, perhaps, the best bread we saw was coarse and mingled with barley. That distributed to the Arabs is always of a very inferior quality. Their date-brandy was said to be no longer distilled in the convent, as was formerly the case." — Vol. I. pp. 193 – 196.

The next stage in the progress of our travellers was 'Akabah, a fortress at the head of the eastern arm of the Red Sea. From this station they proceeded to Jerusalem by the Israelitish desert and Hebron. On their route they discovered the ruins of the ancient Episcopal city of Elusa, which has remained unknown and unmentioned for eleven centuries. They entered Palestine at Beersheba, one of the temporary dwelling places of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. On the evening before Easter Sunday they passed within the gates of Jerusalem, where they at once found friends and a home among five American missionaries, with their families. The author describes the first impression which Jerusalem made upon him as far more favorable than he had anticipated from the descriptions of Chateaubriand and others, who have represented the appearance of the Holy City as squalid and dirty in the extreme. The author even thinks it would not suffer in comparison with any eastern city. The travellers had the pleasure of attending Divine service in English, on Sunday, at the house of Mr. Whiting, a missionary of the American board. There was at the time a general meeting of the missionaries for important business, and on the following Christian Sabbath, in the evening, eleven sojourners in the Holy City, all Protestant ministers, and ten of them from America, in company with some female friends and others, celebrated the Lord's Supper in a "large upper room." The coincidences of number, place, and time were remarkable. Dr. Robinson, feeling himself to be domesticated in Jerusalem for a time, commenced

a systematic and thorough series of exploring rambles and studies within the walls. He evidently has no excess of credulity, and his enlightened reverence secured him from the influence of superstition. The author now brings together a mass of the most interesting and exact information concerning the topography and antiquities of Jerusalem, which he introduces by requesting "the reader to bear in mind, that for the lapse of more than fifteen centuries, Jerusalem has been the abode not only of mistaken piety, but also of credulous superstition, not unmingled with pious fraud." After the conversion of Constantine and his mother Helena, near the beginning of the fourth century, there was a very natural interest excited in the Holy City, which, since its destruction by Titus, up to that period, had been subject to the heathen sway. Multitudes of priests and monks resorted thither, and then began those almost hopeless, and rarely, if ever, successful attempts to identify the spots connected with the life and ministry of Jesus Christ. Superstition made up for the deficiencies of history and tradition. Legends have been accumulating ever since, and thousands of travellers have been admitted to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, where they have been confidently assured that the places of the Lord's Passion and his burial are beneath the same roof. Most of these fabulous inventions had become fixed in the seventh century by the erection of churches over various spots. The Muhammedan conquest for the most part obliterated these false memorials, and a new set of legends and structures dating at the crusades have taken their place. The foundation of the ancient temple now supports a Moslem place of prayer, and the city is divided into three parts, which are portioned to Muhammedans, Jews, and Christians, who, strange to say, live in peace. Full and particular details are given of the interior of the city and its environs, its walls, fountains, valleys, cemeteries, tombs, and of its temple area. The author next traces out very laboriously, the history of the city, beginning with its desolation by Titus, and stating its rebuilding, its second overthrow, the early pilgrimages to it, the visit of Helena, and the erection by her of the churches from which so many now existing profess to date its possession by the Muhammedans, and the singular exploits which it witnessed in the time of the crusades. Dr. Robinson, after a fair and candid examination of the subject, gives no credence to the idle traditions which assign the places of the crucifixion, the sepulchre, and the ascension, and

of course he rejects the well known story of the finding of the true cross. He then presents some valuable statistics relating to the population, sects, trade, manufactures, and climate of the modern city. The well known character of the author is the pledge for the accuracy of his statements.

The information presented by the author, in reference to the present condition of Jerusalem, is of such a character that we should be glad to extract the whole of it. We select the following paragraphs.

"The glory of Jerusalem has indeed departed. From her ancient high estate, as the splendid metropolis of the Jewish commonwealth and of the whole Christian world, the beloved of nations and 'the joy of the whole earth,' she has sunk into the neglected capital of a petty Turkish province; and where of old many hundreds of thousands thronged her streets and temple, we now find a population of scarcely as many single thousands dwelling sparsely within her walls. The cup of wrath and desolation from the Almighty has been poured out upon her to the dregs; and she sits sad and solitary in darkness and in the dust. The Saviour 'beheld the city and wept over it, saying, If thou hadst known, even thou, at least in this thy day, the things which belong unto thy peace! but now they are hid from thine eyes!' He wept at the calamities and the doom which were then coming upon the city, and which now for almost eighteen centuries have bowed her heavily to the ground. That, which our Lord wept over in prospect, we now see in the terrible reality. Long since have the days come, when 'her enemies cast a trench about her, and compassed her round, and kept her in on every side, and have laid her even with the ground, and her children within her; and have not left in her one stone upon another!' How fearfully, and almost to the letter, this 'burden' of Jerusalem has been accomplished upon her, the preceding pages may serve to testify.

"Under the Egyptian rule in Syria, the former Pashaliks of 'Akka and Aleppo have been done away. The whole country is united under one civil government, the seat of which is at Damascus; while the independent military command is intrusted to Ibrahim Pasha. The same system is also followed in the several districts into which the country is divided. Thus in the district of Jerusalem, which includes the hill country around the city from Sinjil on the North to about half way to Hebron on the South, there is a Mutesellim or civil governor, residing in the city, and likewise a military commander. The

powers of these two chiefs, perhaps from policy, are not very distinctly marked, nor separated by any very definite line. The former, however, seems to be the responsible person for the due administration of justice; and he too was the actor in disarming several villages while we were there, which would seem to fall more naturally under the jurisdiction of his colleague. The district of Hebron is subordinate to that of Jerusalem, and is administered only by a deputy-governor. The Bedawîn tribes around Hebron, and in the deserts further South, were under the superintendence of Sheikh Sa'îd, the civil governor of Gaza, who collected from them the tribute, and controlled their predatory excursions against other tribes. — The little intercourse which we had occasion to seek with the two governors of Jerusalem has already been mentioned.

"A considerable body of troops usually lie in garrison at Jerusalem; but the number is variable, and we did not learn the average amount. They were at this time mostly Syrian troops, taken by force as soldiers in the country itself; and of course exceedingly discontented with the service. Shortly before our visit, a mutiny had occurred among them; a large number had deserted, many of whom had been retaken; while others were still wandering about as outlaws and robbers. It was the usual policy of the Egyptian government to remove the Syrian regiments from their own soil to Egypt or other places, where they would be less reminded of their bondage; and during our stay in Jerusalem a large detachment of its garrison was sent off to Yâfa, intended for a more distant service. The troops we saw were in general composed of fine-looking young men. They are lodged in Jerusalem in the citadel, adjacent to which new barracks had recently been erected; and also in the former house of the governor of the city, on the North of the Haram, now converted into a barrack. A military guard was regularly kept at each of the city-gates. We saw also several times parties of soldiers at the fountains and wells round about the city, washing their garments and spreading them upon the ground to dry.

"The population of Jerusalem has been variously estimated according to the fancy of different travellers, from 15,000 up to nearly 30,000. No doubt the number has varied much at different times; and entire certainty can never be hoped for under an oriental government, where a census of the whole population is a thing unknown. Indeed, until within the last few years, there would appear to have been no data whatever accessible to a traveller, on which to found a calculation. The more common estimate of late years among the Franks has

been the round number of 15,000 inhabitants; of which the greater part have been supposed to be Muhammedans. We found, however, reason to distrust the accuracy of both these statements.

"The introduction of the Egyptian system of taxation, and military conscription into Syria, has led to the enumeration and registry of all the *males* who are of an age to be taxed or to bear arms. We could not learn that this age is very exactly defined; but it is usually reckoned as commencing at about eighteen or twenty years. According to the proportion generally assumed, this enumeration may thus be regarded as a loose census of one fourth of the population. As this measure was a great innovation, and led to consequences which excited much alarm and opposition, the number of persons thus registered in the different cities and villages became everywhere an object of interest to the inhabitants, and was very generally known. On our inquiring of different individuals respecting the number enrolled in a particular place, the answer given was almost uniformly the same. We found this therefore to be the best, and indeed the only positive basis, on which to found an estimate of the population of any city or village. Yet even this enumeration is not always correct; as the partiality or negligence of the authorities often causes the list to fall below the actual number. Among the multitudes belonging to different sects, there are always eyes keen enough to watch and detect the errors arising from this source; and we not unfrequently received two reports, one according to the official registry, and the other according to the alleged truth. — I have dwelt the longer upon this topic here; because these remarks apply not only to Jerusalem, but to all our subsequent travels in Palestine.

"The inhabitants of Jerusalem dwell in separate quarters according to their religion, — Christian, Jewish, and Muhammedan. The Christian quarter extends along the upper or western part of the city, between the Latin convent at the N. W. corner, and the great Armenian convent in the S. W., including also the church of the Holy Sepulchre. The Jewish quarter occupies the northeastern part of Zion, and extends upwards so as to include the greater portion of the hill lying within the walls. The Muhammedans are in the middle and lower parts of the city. After careful inquiry, the information which we found most worthy to be relied upon amounted to the following.

"I. The MUHAMMEDANS are reckoned in the government books at 750 men; but amount really to 1,100. This gives at the utmost a round number of 4,500.

"II. Of the JEWS, only 500 males are enrolled; but there are actually many more. According to the careful estimate of the Rev. Mr. Nicolayson, who has a better opportunity of judging than any other person, the whole number of the Jews at this time was about 3,000. In former years the number had sometimes amounted to 5,000.

"III. CHRISTIANS. The *Greeks* are reckoned by the government at 400, but are actually 460; the *Latins* at 260; the *Armenians* at 130. Total 850 males, indicating a population of about 3,500 in all. — Hence

Muhammedans	4,500
Jews	3,000
Christians	3,500
Total Population	11,000

If to this we add something for possible omissions, and for the inmates of the convents; the standing population of the city, exclusive of the garrison, cannot well be reckoned at over 11,500 souls. The Muhammedans, it will be seen, are more numerous than either the Jews or Christians alone; but fewer in number than these two bodies united.

"Of all this native population, as well as throughout Syria and Egypt, the Arabic is the vernacular language; as much so as the English in London or the French in Paris. The Jews are for the most part not natives of the country; and speak a corrupt medley of tongues among themselves. Among the other foreigners, the Greek, Armenian, and Italian languages are also found; but whoever desires to obtain access to the common people, whether Muhammedans or Christians, can do it only through the medium of the Arabic.

"Of the Jews now resident in Palestine, the greater number are such as have come up to the land of their fathers, in order to spend the remainder of their lives and die in one of the four holy places — Jerusalem, Hebron, Tiberias, or Safed. Those in Jerusalem desire to lay their bones in the valley of Jehoshaphat. They come hither from all parts of the Levant, and especially from Smyrna, Constantinople, and Salonika; in which cities there are many thousands of this people. Two years before our visit, the Jews were said to have flocked in great numbers to Syria, and particularly to Damascus and Tyre, where formerly they were not permitted to reside. But subsequently, as the high prices of provisions and of living in general increased, this circumstance prevented the coming of more, and compelled the return of many; so that the number of Jews in Jerusalem had been much diminished. They live

here, for the most part, in poverty and filth. A considerable amount of money is collected for them by their emissaries in different countries; but as it comes into the hands of the Rabbins, and is managed by them without responsibility, it is understood to be administered without much regard to honesty, and serves chiefly as a means of increasing their own influence and control over the conduct and consciences of their poorer brethren.

"Most of the Jews now in Palestine appear to be of Spanish or Polish origin; very few are from Germany, or are able to speak the German language. The very motive, which leads them thus to return to the Land of Promise, shows their strong attachment to their ancient faith; and would of itself point *a priori* to the conclusion, which is found to be true in fact, viz., that the Jews thus resident in Palestine are of all others the most bigotted, and the least accessible to the labors of Christian missionaries. The efforts of the English Mission have as yet been attended with very slight success; and it remains to be seen, whether the proposed erection of a Jewish-Christian church in Jerusalem will add to the influence and prosperity of the mission. The site was purchased during our stay in the city; and the building is understood to be now in progress." — Vol. II. pp. 81 – 88.

The travellers then began a series of excursions in all directions, making Jerusalem their central point and place of rest. They found Bethany to be now a poor village containing about twenty families. The monks who have taken up their abode here show, as a matter of course, the houses of Simon the leper, and of Mary and Martha, and the sepulchre of Lazarus. It is scarcely necessary to say that their stories cannot even be called conjectures. The travellers could find no trace of Bethphage, but they identified Bethel and Gibeon. These rambles among the lonely and time-worn relics of the sacred past possess naturally an interest for a religious mind which can scarcely be exaggerated. In Jerusalem, indeed, all holy associations seem to be united, yet they lose some of their power by being mingled and confused. In the country, individual scenes and characters of ancient renown present themselves with more effect.

Another excursion brought the travellers to the Dead Sea, and the banks of the Jordan through Bethlehem, and on their way they identified Engedi, now 'Ain-Jidy. It has been but recently observed that the waters of the Dead Sea lie at a remarkable depression of six hundred feet below the Mediterra-

nean. The author explodes the well known stories about the pestiferous vapors which arise from these waters, but he concurs in the well authenticated statement that no living thing, animal or vegetable, can be found in them. It has been generally supposed that the Dead Sea did not exist until after the destruction of the cities of the plain, and that it originated in that solemn catastrophe. The author discredits this supposition on satisfactory grounds. In his examination of the Jordan he was convinced that, contrary to the general belief, it is not subject to extensive inundations, like the Nile. His account of the excursion to Jericho is one of the most interesting in its details. It was from the predatory bands in the surrounding mountains that danger was to be apprehended, more than upon any former route which he had taken. The travellers adopted the safe and cautious policy of engaging the Shiekh of one of these suspicious companies as their guide for the time. In an excursion to Gaza, they identified the scene of the conflict between David and Goliath, and visited Hebron, where is the cave of Machpelah, the burial place of the patriarchs. The ancient Petra is now known by the name of Wady Musa, and the author presents an historical sketch of the ancient city which throws light upon its very interesting ruins. In giving up the use of camels on their subsequent journeys, the author is led into a description of the wonderful qualities of that animal, which furnishes such a marvellous illustration of the wisdom of the Creator. We have never met with so interesting an account of this "ship of the desert," in any treatise upon natural history.

We extract the following narrative notwithstanding its length. It records the only instance of danger, or opposition which the travellers encountered.

"We now returned to our tent and breakfasted. After the general survey which we had thus taken, I wished to go once more to the Khŭzneh, and then return by the upper range of tombs along the eastern cliff above our tent. We fixed upon 9 o'clock as the hour for setting off. Meantime Sheikh Hussân [their guide] came in, and said the Sheikh of Wady Mûsa was there, desiring from us a Ghŭfr [a present]. We told him through Hussân, that we were travelling with the Firmân of Muhammed 'Aly, who had abolished all such exactions throughout his dominions; and we therefore felt under no obligation to comply with this demand. Our reply was perhaps more decided than it would otherwise have been, in consequence of the

report of our servants, that during our absence the Sheikh and his attendants had conducted themselves arrogantly, ordering coffee and demanding of them a breakfast. To this last, the servants had without much ceremony demurred.

"Leaving my companion and Sheikh Hussân to arrange the matter, and taking with me two of our Arabs, I now repaired to the amphitheatre and the Khŭzneh, observing everything leisurely by the way, and looking particularly for the tomb with the Greek inscription, though without finding it. While examining the Khŭzneh, I heard several guns fired at our tent; but as this is not unusual among the Arabs, it it did not further excite my attention. I had taken my last admiring look of this beautiful structure from a point opposite, near the mouth of the Sîk, and was just about to return, when I saw seven ragged wild-looking Arabs with guns coming up the valley. They entered the Khŭzneh, to look at it, as I supposed; but soon came out; and seeing me with my two attendants at some distance, advanced towards us in a quiet manner, until within a few steps, when they broke out into the most violent gestures and exclamations, ordering us to return forthwith to the tent. As I knew not what it all meant, and could not ask them, I kept along down the valley, still searching for the Greek tomb and followed by the seven ragamuffins.

"At the amphitheatre I met Mr. Smith, who informed me, that the two Sheikhs had broken on the point of the tribute. After my departure the Sheikh of the Bedûn had through Hussân repeated his demand for the Ghŭfr; in which he was now backed by the advice and solicitation of our own Arabs. He asserted that he had authority from the Pasha to collect such a toll, in return for his being held responsible to the government for the safety of travellers; and further, that all former travellers had paid his demand, and he hoped we would do so as well as they. To these barefaced falsehoods the reply was, that if he had authority from the Pasha, let him produce it, and he should have all that it allowed; that if he had formerly shown favors to travellers and they had paid him for it, let him also first show us some kindness and civility, and he would not find us slow to make him a present in return. All this intercourse was had in like manner through Sheikh Hussân.

"On receiving this last answer, the old man rose in a great passion, saying that if we had orders from Muhammed 'Aly he would obey them; but that our Arabs had no right to take us away, and they should go. He accordingly ordered them to depart; and talked of sending for other camels to

Eljy. A great quarrel and tumult now arose between our Arabs and the eighteen or twenty armed men of the other party; swords were drawn and guns fired; and one would have thought that blood would have been immediately shed. My friend left them in the midst of the tumult, and went first to the tombs in the eastern precipice and thence to the theatre, where I now met him. The adverse Sheikh, it appeared, had also declared, that if we would not pay, we should see nothing of Wady Mûsa; and had sent his men to find us and conduct us back.

"We now together looked at various tombs in the vicinity of the theatre; our new 'protectors' endeavoring to prevent us, and once even taking hold of our arms. We civilly shook them off, taking care not to strike nor to give any occasion for personal violence; which they too seemed quite as equally anxious to avoid. My companion endeavored to proceed higher up the valley, but was stopped by force. He now held a long talk with them, while I sat by; using both argument and expostulation, and depicting the danger of thus exposing themselves to the vengeance of the Pasha. They of course could make no reply; but his words also made no impression; and he might as well have spoken to the wind. We thought it better to return to the tent and there await the result.

"Here the Sheikh of Wady Mûsa now presented himself in due form; and to my no little astonishment, turned out to be the identical old Mukeibil Abu Zeitûn, 'the Father of Olives,' who had caused all the trouble to Messrs. Bankes, Legh, and Irby and Mangles in 1818; pushing his obstinacy at that time so far, as almost to kindle a war among the Arab tribes, in order to prevent the approach of the party to Wady Mûsa. I had supposed him long dead; as no traveller since that time has spoken of him or appears to have seen him. But he now revived before us in all the obstinacy and tenacity of purpose, which had marked his former character; and we knew henceforth whom we had to deal with. He was at present an old man of nearly eighty years; and had put on a new Arab cloak, and a new glaring yellow Kefîyeh, bound around his head with an unusual quantity of new woollen yarn, — in short his galadress, — to do us honor. His demeanor was calm; and he now went over his arguments to us in a mild tone, and we ours to him in return.

"He enumerated one and another who (he said) had paid him the Ghŭfr, or, as he called it, made him a present; and he presumed we were more noble and generous than any who had gone before, and would give liberally. When told that as bearing the Pasha's Firmân, we were free from all such exac-

tions, and that moreover he was held responsible for our safety while within his limits; his reply was, that he knew all this, and on account of this very responsibility he claimed a present; if the government would relieve him from this obligation, he would ask nothing of visitors. We told him, we had been travelling through the provinces of Gaza and Hebron, where the Sheikhs of the villages, of their own accord, had always given us a guard around our tent, and had never thought of claiming or of hinting a wish for pay; and that his best way would have been in like manner to have done us some favor, before he claimed any return. But nothing made any impression upon the stubborn old Bedawy; there he sat, tall, gaunt, with thin and time-worn visage and gray beard, not violent in gesture or manner, but cold, determined, and tenacious of his supposed hold upon us as a bloodhound.

"His reiterated demand was for one thousand Piastres, equal to fifty Spanish dollars, from ourselves; and for five hundred Piastres in addition from our Arabs. On this last he seemed to lay less stress, as they were neighbors and might come again; but as to us, he evidently regarded us as a windfall already in his power, which he was bent upon turning to the utmost advantage.

"He had made the same demand of Bertou when here a few weeks before. Lord Prudhoe, about the same time, he had not caught; as he came from the West, remained only for a night, and was off again before the old man had time to pay his respects. Such indeed appears to have been the case with all those travellers, who of late years have taken this place in their way from 'Akabah to Hebron; their visits have been short; and entering by way of Mount Hor, they have been able to leave again before information of their arrival could reach the Sheikh. This advantage we had lost, by ascending the mountains further north, where our visit became known at once to the Arabs around Dibdiba. — Bertou, as he himself told us, had got off by giving the Sheikh all the money he had with him, less than one hundred Piastres, with a quantity of powder, soap, tobacco, and the like.

"The old man appears not to have been satisfied with this result; and had now, on the first intelligence of our arrival, come down upon us by night with some twenty armed men, who already had increased to thirty; determined to have the matter this time in his own hands, and not to let the opportunity slip away so easily. Against this array, we could number in all only thirteen men, including our Haweitât, on whom we could place no dependence whatever. Our Jehâlîn too, al-

though their interest was the same as ours, proved to be men of no nerve; Sheikh Hussân, an easy good-natured man, had neither decision nor energy. We were thus really and truly in the power of Abu Zeitûn; and his men, the worst looking set of miscreants we had yet seen, seemed not unwilling to exercise this power, and waited apparently only for a signal to plunder us outright. But the old Sheikh was more politic, and obviously kept them in check.

"After long and loud talking, the upshot of the whole matter on the part of Abu Zeitûn was, that unless we paid his demand we should see nothing more, and should return the way we came. There was also again some talk of camels coming from Eljy to take us back; but this seemed not to be much insisted on, and was rather a feint. We now told the old man plainly, that in the shape of Ghŭfr we should give nothing. If he was in rebellion against the government, we only wanted to know it, that we might make our report accordingly; at any rate we should make a report of his conduct to the English and American Consuls in Cairo, who would lay the affair before the Pasha, and take measures that future travellers should not be thus exposed to exactions. After all, we were now in his power, and if he chose to rob or kill us outright, we were ready; but he must abide the consequences. Here the matter rested for some time.

"It was already past 10 o'clock, and we began to be impatient at this delay. Rather than give up the ascent of Mount Hor, (although we had now seen it fully from below,) we thought it best to tender to the old man through Sheikh Hussân, at first, what the chief Sheikh of the Jehâlîn had told us would be enough, viz., forty Piastres. It was returned; and also afterwards eighty, which we offered. I would have gone up to one hundred Piastres; but the tenacious Sheikh was now so certain of his prey, that he would hear of nothing short of the full thousand. We therefore concluded, that it would be better on the whole, as we could not carry the matter through by force, to take him at his word, and return the way we came. The followers of Abu Zeitûn had gradually increased to nearly forty armed men, including some of the 'Ammârîn, and a brother of Sheikh Husein the 'Alawy. Keeping our own counsel, we ordered the camels to be loaded, which was done without hindrance from any one; and we mounted.

"Not wishing, however, to give up the point except from actual compulsion, we now attempted to set off on the way to Mount Hor, Sheikh Hussân leading the forward camel; but the hostile party, at a signal from Abu Zeitûn instantly closed

around, and swords were drawn and brandished; which, however, among these Arabs, as we had now learned, means nothing more than to make a flourish. The heads of our camels were seized and turned in the opposite direction, with orders to go by the way we came. Not a step, my companion replied, except by force; and dismounting he stood up before them and told them: We now knew them to be robbers, and were ready for them; let them rob and kill us if they chose, but not a para more of money should they get, than we had offered them. They replied, that not for a para less than a thousand Piastres should we go to Mount Hor. Our resolute Komeh next seized the halter of the head-camel and tried to go on as before; but with no better success. He then in great wrath, threw down his gun and pistol and pipe on the ground before them, (the pipe was shivered in pieces,) declaring them to be thieves and robbers, and calling on them to take possession of his arms and all that he had. — All this, however, was of no avail; and we accordingly, about 11 o'clock, turned the heads of our camels the other way, and proceeded on the path which issues from the N. E. corner of the area, leading close along under the tombs in the eastern cliffs.

"Our departure in this manner seemed, after all, to be wholly unexpected to the adverse party. The old Sheikh had reckoned upon us so surely, that this movement took him by surprise, and threatened to thwart his plans. He detained our Arabs long in consultation; and when Sheikh Hussân at length came up, he brought an offer that we might return and stay as long as we pleased on paying five hundred Piastres. To this of course we paid no regard; being determined not to renew the negotiation. At this time our five Haweitât, whom we were desirous to retain at least for the present, thinking it a favorable moment to profit by our necessities, demanded their wages, and refused to accompany us any further, except at an extravagant price. We paid them off, and let them go. There now remained with us only our four Jehâlîn, in these mountains teeming with such ruffians. But we put our trust in God, and went forward; not knowing but that at any moment we might be overtaken and plundered.

"After we had proceeded for nearly an hour, a man from Abu Zeitûn overtook us, inviting us to return; the Sheikh did not wish us to depart thus; our good-will was worth more to him than money; and we might come back and finish our observations without paying anything. We sent word to the effect, that we had seen all we desired in the valley; that he had driven us away, and we should not return; but should

make our report to Cairo. After another hour came a second messenger, begging us at least to wait until the Sheikh himself could come up and get our good-will; which means, being interpreted, to part with words of peace, but get a bakhsîsh if possible. We were now on the plain of Sutûh Beida, nearly opposite Dibdiba; and turning aside under the shade of the western precipice, we waited accordingly.

"The old man came at length on his dromedary, and most of his company with him. Dismounting, he seated himself near us, repeated coldly the assurance that our good-will was dearer to him than money; said we might return if we chose, and whatever we might please to give him would be acceptable; or, if we chose to go on, we might go in peace. We told him, he was now too late, and we should go on; and left him coldly, without his present. — I proposed indeed to my companion, that we should so far put his good-will to the test, as to let him give us a guide to conduct us to Mount Hor by some other route, not leading through Wady Mûsa. But to this my friend was averse; thinking it better when once out of the old man's clutches, not to place ourselves again in his power. We therefore reluctantly gave up Mount Hor, and proceeded on our way, after having been thus delayed for about an hour.

"The head Sheikh of the Jehâlîn afterwards assured us, that such an exaction had never been attempted, nor such a claim set up by Abu Zeitûn, before the present year; but this has probably been owing, as already suggested, to the shortness of the visits made by travellers, whose arrival did not become known to the Sheikh. The peasants, it was said, had sometimes come around, and asked for bakhshîsh; and a few Piastres had occasionally been given them. At any rate, we were probably the first, on whom the old miscreant had once laid his grasp, who ever escaped from it without yielding to his demand; and we received many compliments from the Sheikhs of the Jehâlîn and others at Hebron for the boldness and address, with which we had extricated ourselves from his power. We owed our escape, no doubt, to the awe in which he stood of the strong arm of Muhammed 'Aly; a circumstance of which we did not discover the full extent until after we had left him. Hussân remained behind; and him he charged, that the Jehâlîn should bring no more Christians to Wady Mûsa, without an express paper with the seal of the government; such a paper he would obey. This means, of course, nothing more than a Tezkirah from the governor of Gaza, under whose jurisdiction this region belongs; or probably one from Jerusalem or Hebron would answer just as well.

"We had committed the oversight of leaving our Firmân among our other papers at Hebron; not dreaming that it could be necessary to us in these mountains. But I am since persuaded, that had we had the firmân to flourish in the old man's face, and more especially the Tezkirah of Sheikh Sa'îd, which had been offered to us in Gaza, we should have carried our point without much difficulty. As it was, this could be done only by submitting to his demand, or by force. To the former we were not disposed, either for our own sakes or for the sake of those travellers who should come up after us; and the latter was all on the adverse side. We suppose it was the same awe of Muhammed 'Aly, which alone prevented them from plundering us outright; helping themselves to that which we refused them." — Vol. II. pp. 538 – 547.

The travellers returned to Jerusalem to take their last view of the Holy City, and to bid farewell to its scenes and to the friends who dwelt there. They then set out upon a line of march for Nazareth and Mount Tabor. On their way they identified Shiloh, where the Tabernacle was set up. At Nabulus, the ancient Shechem, lying between Mounts Ebal and Gerizim, they visited the remnant of the Samaritans, now numbering not more than one hundred and fifty souls. They still hate, avoid, and decry the Jews, and repeat with pride the story of their former renown. The author presents a sketch of their history and states the value of their literature. The party ascended Mount Gerizim, the former rival of Zion, and marked out the traces of its ruins. The author presents strong reasons in support of the identity of the well, which for ages has been ascribed to Jacob. The neighboring region abounds in interesting sights and objects. Nazareth has a history which is given by the author, and then the ancient Cana is identified. Having ascended the beautiful Mount Tabor, the author denies the prevailing opinion, that this is the summit which witnessed the transfiguration of the Saviour. A poor and small hamlet is now the representative of the ancient Nain.

In the next excursion from Mount Tabor, by the Lake of Tiberias to Safed, we have a description of the city of Tiberias, and of the Lake, the view of which disappointed the author, as the surrounding scenery presented nothing striking or romantic. The site of Capernaum rests only on probability.

The travellers were now on their homeward way, as their faces were turned towards Beirut, by Tyre and Sidon. The former city, one of the mighty emporiums of the sea coast of

Phœnicia, presents traces of its ancient renown, and solemnly impresses the traveller with the fulfilment of the prophecies concerning it. Its position and history, its former splendor and present ruins, are graphically delineated. Sidon, which has shared the fate of its sister city, is the more ancient of the two; it is mentioned by Moses and by Homer. It has now lost even its modern commerce. At Beirut the oriental pilgrimage of the author closed. He was there received by missionary friends, and in their comfortable homes, partaking of female kindness which had been one of the sorest deprivations of his journeys, he realized all the happiness which follows successful endeavor. His health gave way in the change from active motion to the indolence of life in steamboats upon the Mediterranean and Black Seas, and among the marshes of the Danube a fever was confirmed upon him, which well nigh closed his career at Vienna. But the mercy of God, and the assiduous kindness of Mr. Smith prolonged his life, and saved the results of his labors to the world.

The concluding section of this voluminous work presents information concerning the various religious sects in the Holy Land, for which the author is principally indebted to Mr. Smith. In Syria and Palestine there is a Christian population of between 400,000 and 500,000 souls, composed of Greeks, (that is, members of the Greek Church, though still Arabs by birth and descent), Greek catholics, Maronites, Syrians or Jacobites, Syrian catholics, Armenians, Armenian catholics, and Latins. The Greeks are most numerous. Protestants are not recognised or tolerated by the authorities. The Muhammedans are the lords of the country and the mass of the population, and besides those of the orthodox faith, there are four sects of heretics.

Besides the text to each of the three volumes of Professor Robinson's works there are extensive appendices. Subjoined to the third volume is a memoir upon the five maps which accompany the work by H. Kiepert, of Berlin, an itinerary of the whole route, and Arabic lists of the names of places by Rev. Mr. Smith. Probably the voluminous character of this work, its thoroughness, and consequently its learned style and manner may confine its circulation and study to scholars by profession. Yet it will not be long before the valuable information which it contains will be transplanted from the great desert of unfamiliar names and hard words, and made to appear in expositions and commentaries for popular use. Several particular statements

and incidents contained in it will serve to explain some dark passages in Scripture, and to confirm former suppositions and opinions. The author was frequently greeted in a most pleasant manner by vestiges of the ancient and now almost consecrated customs of the Holy Land. In the true style of oriental hospitality, in regions which do not lie upon the already well worn route of European or Frankish travel, he was received and entertained without pay or present with more of kindness than money would purchase where it is the sole condition of favor. His feet were washed, and his tent was guarded for him. He saw women grinding the corn with handmills, cattle treading out the grain upon the threshing floor, and the gleanings left in the field for the poor. His task was rather made more difficult than facilitated by former travellers. They have many of them been led into the bad habit of putting down the names of places which they never saw, and which do not exist, because in their anxiety to know of or to identify them, they have given too easy credence to their Arab guides, who, as has been already said, will at once point in one or another direction, if asked, the position or even the existence of any spot which the traveller may choose to name. Those who may follow on with the maps or books constructed by such superficial travellers will necessarily be disappointed, be delayed on their journey, and complain of ill success. The highest value attaches to the work before us from the thoroughness of its researches, the unwillingness of the author to take any statement upon trust, when it was in his power at the cost of much inconvenience to verify it, and the exact statistics which he has given. As an itinerary for future travellers, a road-book and a guide, it must be all that could be desired. The bearings of all the principal points are given by the compass, the distances of places, and the arrangements of travel are carefully stated throughout.

In closing our notice of this work, we cannot omit to mention with well deserved commendation, the constant faithfulness of the author and of his companion to their professed belief as disciples of Jesus Christ. They took their religion with them into the desert, and it was probably owing as much to this circumstance as to any other, that they brought with them from the desert a faith quickened and sanctified by sight. With only one exception they invariably rested on the Christian Sabbaths, consecrating the day beneath their tent. They found comfort and delight in their united devotions, morning and evening, and

connected with every spot and with every experience its best associations. They were always scrupulous about matters which to many persons would have seemed indifferent, or not within their responsibility. When some of their Arab guides, for instance, in meeting a tribe with which they were not in amity, took the liberty of stealing from them, the travellers compelled them to restore the articles thus taken. In pursuing scrupulously the Christian rule, and making the laws of Christ the laws of the desert, as well as by successfully resisting all its impositions, these travellers have sown a harvest of good for their followers. The conveniences for visiting those regions are multiplied daily, and disciples of the Saviour may well be reminded that they are especially bound to honor him in the land of his miracles and sufferings.

G. E. E.

ART. VI. — THE MORAL PRINCIPLE OF THE TEMPERANCE MOVEMENT. — A SERMON PREACHED IN THE CHAPEL OF HARVARD COLLEGE, OCTOBER 17, 1841. BY HENRY WARE, JR., PARKMAN PROFESSOR, &c.

"Wherefore, if meat cause my brother to offend, I will eat no flesh while the world standeth, lest I cause my brother to offend." — 1 *Corinthians*, viii. 13.

THERE is something admirable in the disinterestedness of spirit which dictated this declaration. It is the entire abandonment of selfish considerations for the sake of others' good. It in this respect exemplifies the meaning of our Lord's precept, *Love thy neighbor as thyself.* It is the application of the principle elsewhere expressed by Paul in various forms; — *Let no man seek his own, but every man another's good. In honor preferring one another. No man liveth to himself.*

The question alluded to in the text was one of peculiar interest at that time, when the new converts to Christianity had but just left their old religions, and were still connected with relatives, friends, and neighbors, who remained attached to idolatrous worship. Mingling with them in the intercourse of common life, it would not be easy to avoid contact with matters of religious form, and involving questions of religious obligation. For example, if a friend invited them to an entertainment, and set be-

fore them meat which had been offered in sacrifice to an idol, — what should they do? Might they, as Christians, innocently partake of it? It was plainly a question of great practical interest. The Corinthians asked advice of the Apostle respecting it. Paul, in reply, lays down the principle, that an act is to be judged of by its effect, not on themselves alone, but on others also. If they partake of the meat with the clear understanding that there is no such thing in existence as a false God, then they may do it innocently; it is no act of idolatry; it is no dereliction of their Christian principle. But all are not sufficiently enlightened to be able to do this; from custom or some other cause they still have a regard to the idol, and eat it, "as a thing offered to an idol." In so doing they sin. Such persons, therefore, must refrain. Here, then, are two classes; the enlightened and strong, who can eat without sin, — the unenlightened and weak, who cannot eat without sin. But ought there to be two practices in the Church, — some of the brethren frequenting the idolatrous festival, and some avoiding it? This would hardly do; because it would plainly be exposing the weaker brethren to an unnecessary temptation. They could not well understand why others should be permitted this indulgence, and themselves be forbidden; and thus, emboldened by their example, they would take the indulgence and commit sin. Accordingly, the Apostle advises, that, in all brotherly love and Christian consistency, the strong should deny themselves this gratification for the sake of the weak. His expression is very clear. "For, if any man see thee, who hast knowledge, sit at meat in the idol's temple, will not the conscience of him that is weak be emboldened to eat what is offered to the idol; and so, through thy knowledge, thy weak brother perish, for whom Christ died? When ye thus sin against the brethren and wound their weak conscience, ye sin against Christ. Wherefore, if meat cause my brother to offend, I will eat no flesh while the world standeth, lest I cause my brother to offend."

The occasions for displaying the same generous disregard of selfish considerations, for the benefit of others, frequently occur; and the instances of such disinterestedness are not so rare in the Christian world as to be matters of wonder. But perhaps never, until the present age, has this principle been made the motto of a great action of philanthropy; never before did thousands unite together for the moral benefit of their fellow-men by means of an express abridgement of their own liberty of indul-

gence. And, after all that has been pointed out as distinguishing this remarkable period, perhaps nothing is more worthy of being regarded its distinction, in a moral point of view, than this; — that multitudes have abandoned, — not for a time but for life, — a customary, innocent, moderate gratification, — which did them personally no harm, and apparently threatened them no harm, — on the single ground that others abused it to harm, — that "this liberty of theirs was a stumbling-block to the weak." In this way, an attempt has been made to begin the removal of that great mass of crime and wretchedness which I spoke of in the morning; — the removal of which once seemed so hopeless, that the boldest enthusiast hardly dared to dream of it; which had so entrenched itself in the passions of men, in their habits, in their laws, in their interests, that it laughed defiance on all opposition. Against that evil this principle of disinterestedness has been brought to bear, and the evil has begun to give way. An illustrious exemplification of the strength there is in Christian affection, and the appeal to the nobler impulses of human nature!

The words of the text express the principle on which this action has proceeded, and are at once its authority and justification. The unhappy class of sinners by intemperate excess had become alarmingly large. It seemed as if there were no hope of retrieving the lost, or of checking the progress of others to the same ruin. But it would not do to let the plague rage without an effort to stay it. First, therefore, was tried the power of a moral engagement; the exposed were persuaded to pledge themselves to entire abstinence from the use of ardent spirits. This proved an effective method, and a visible change for the better began to take place. But it soon became evident that the friends of the cause were now divided into two classes — precisely like the two already referred to among the Corinthians; one consisting of the strong, who could partake moderately and remain temperate; the other of the weak, who could not touch without excess. The former were left at liberty; why not? they would not abuse their liberty. The latter gave up their liberty; they deprived themselves of the right to use at all what they were so prone to abuse. But this came to be felt as an unreasonable and galling distinction; the liberty of the one was a stumbling-block to the other; and until it should be removed, it was plain no further progress could be made. What then should be done? Precisely what the Apostle recommended

to the Corinthians. This division between the strong and weak should cease; the strong should surrender their position of superiority; all should come under the same obligation; and forthwith the magnanimous pledge was taken; — If [our moderate use of ardent spirit cause our brethren to offend, we will taste no more while the world stands, lest we cause our brethren to offend.

Under this disinterested action the reform went prosperously on for a time. But it was by and bye apparent, that there still remained an inconsistency in practice, and that a stumbling-block still lay in the way of many. "You counsel us," was the language, "wholly to abandon this indulgence, — (which we were early taught to regard as almost a necessary) — and you fortify your counsel by abandoning it yourselves. But to most of you that is evidently a very unmeaning act. You in reality give up nothing; you retain all that you care for, — wine and other choice liquors. *We* too would give up our inferior drinks, if we could afford to supply ourselves with yours; but as it is, we think, your giving a pledge is little better than mockery; and we are not to be cajoled by any such inconsistent pretences."

Such was the language. It was thought by some to be unreasonable, idle, impertinent; they would not listen to it, and went on as before, wondering at the want of self-denial in the poor, but refusing to aid them by example; astonished that they would thus wilfully stand in their own light, and insist on ruining themselves, because of the inconsistency of their neighbors.

Others, however, felt the inconsistency that was pointed out. To be sure, they said, the complaint in its whole extent is rather extravagant and unreasonable; and it shows great weakness in men to insist on injuring themselves for such a cause; but then it is our business, as Christians, to be considerate toward the weak, and do what we can to strengthen them. Now, it is evident that nothing can be done for them so long as this state of things lasts; but something must be done for them; this stumbling-block must be removed. And so — leaving all selfish considerations, taking counsel only of the Christian obligation to others, — they forthwith made application once more of the principle of the Apostle, and pledged themselves to abide by it; — If our partaking of wine cause our brethren to offend, we will drink no more wine while the world stands, lest we cause our brethren to offend.

It is not a small portion of the community that have entered into this Apostolic agreement. It is not a small effect that has been produced by it. Objections have been made to it, — some practical, some theoretical; many by the worldly and self-indulgent, some by the self-denying and devout. But allowing the utmost that should be allowed to such objections, it still remains to be considered, that it is not possible in this fallible condition of humanity, to devise any large action for the general good, against which, in some of its features, there will not lie plausible, and even real, ground of objection. The most unexceptionable and beneficent movements, — from which humanity and religion have gained most, — have had their attendant evils. We are not then to be deterred from this work, because imperfections can be pointed out; but, observing how much has been already accomplished, and what is yet going on, we think the enterprise should be pressed forward without faltering; — its doubtful tendencies watched and restrained, to be sure, but with no relaxation of its eagerness or strength, — not doubting that while man does his duty, and society is thereby filled with blessings, it will be safe to leave to the mercy and remedy of Divine Providence the unavoidable imperfections of human agency that accompany it.

If we ever could have doubted the rectitude and expediency of the course which has been pursued, we could doubt no longer, when we saw it followed, — after twenty years of anxious experiment, — followed and crowned by a result which had not been anticipated; and which we cannot look at without a strange feeling that we behold the prospering hand of God. For a quarter of a century various and persevering measures had been pursued, until the community was penetrated throughout with information and excitement on the subject. And now, at last, — as if the harvest of that long seedtime and laborious husbandry, — there has arisen one of the most astonishing movements of which history gives account; — so remarkable in its origin, so rapid in its extension, so triumphant in its success, that I say again, we cannot refuse to acknowledge in it the special intervention of Providence, if Providence ever acts in the affairs of men. Think of the revolution which has taken place in Ireland; which promises to convert that lost people into a temperate nation. What could have been deemed more improbable than that? And yet, behold, a greater wonder is here! An unprecedented effort at self-reform has burst forth

from the very bosoms of the wretched victims of this evil, — the abandoned, the despaired of, the forsaken, — for whom men had no hope, and fancied that God had no mercy; — those lost wretches themselves, from the depths of their own desperate debasement, have called up their manliness and stood forth, emancipated, disenthralled, — the preachers of that temperance they had so long despised. It was like a resurrection from the grave. It was as if the tomb had spoken. No wonder that attention was arrested. No wonder that the voice of hope echoed over the land, and a thrill of admiration and gratitude passed from city to city, and from border to border. And now, within less than twelve short months, — not a few only, — not a few hundreds, — but thousands and thousands of helpless creatures, — have been redeemed; from outcasts have become blessings, from burdens are helpers, from the shame have come to be the joy of heart-broken friends. This is the Lord's doing, and it is marvellous in our eyes! It is going on; and say what we may — what need not be denied — of some doubtful procedures, of some unwise speeches, of some injudicious measures, of some men apparently rescued who have sunk back; still their remains ample room to believe the reform so far complete, that the next generation will know almost nothing of the curse that burdened the past.

In the midst of this movement, my friends, we are living; we witness its agitation on every side. What are we to do? At a time when a momentous moral reform is going on about us, which involves the happiness of multitudes and an immense gain to the public prosperity and character, — are we to sit still, and let it all pass by, or are we in some way to be concerned in it?

It would be difficult to show cause why we should feel less interested in it, than other portions of society. We have a common stake with other citizens in the prosperity and virtue of the community. We have a common interest with other human beings in the honor and happiness of humanity. We, no less than they, are linked in with those who have been and may be ruined, and who may yet be saved or lost. For the present, it is true, we are sitting apart from them, in the retreat of these quiet shades; yet we are bone of their bone, flesh of their flesh, and in a very few months the youngest of you will be in the midst of them, striving hand to hand with them in all the cares of life; priding yourselves, perhaps, on the superior-

ity of your education, and your greater consequent capacity for action and influence. Surely, then, there can be no good reason why you should have less interest in these important measures than your brethren abroad.

For, consider, what those measures are. They are, briefly, the absolute prohibition of all intoxicating drink; — the tempted are to bind themselves to it by a solemn pledge; — and all others, as far as possible, are to join them by entering into the same obligation, whether personally tempted and in danger, or not. By these means it is hoped to bring on the time, when, the use of these dangerous luxuries, having been by all men expressly abjured, shall become unknown; and future generations be without peril from them because without temptation.

The plan is a perfect one. If it can be carried through, a change will be produced in the state of society, the worth of which, whether calculated in happiness, or in virtue, or in gold, cannot be estimated. — Some men smile at such expressions as extravagant. But I never knew one to do so, who was tolerably acquainted with the subject.

And what is to hinder the plan from being fully carried into effect? But one thing; the refusal of the people to join in bringing it about. To do it perfectly, requires a universal agreement; just so far as men refuse to join the agreement, just so far they hinder the blessing. Now undoubtedly many will refuse; — and therefore the absolute extinction of the evil is not to be expected. For one cause or another, satisfactory to themselves, they stand by and stir not a finger in aid of the work; sometimes assigning conscientious and religious reasons, — sometimes silent in contempt or indifference, — sometimes seeking to check and thwart the movement by cold sneers, by small wit, and by intimidating example. They are able to succeed so far as to prevent the extinction of the deplorable evil. We must make up our minds to it. We must say with our Saviour, "It must needs be that offences come;" and we must add with him, "Alas, for that man through whom the offence cometh."

But let others do as they may; is there any good reason why *you* should not countenance and abet a cause like this? The same reasons which decide other persons in the community should affect you. If your brothers and companions in other walks of life have good reason to be concerned, your being differently situated does not destroy the force of the reason. If

they can manifest that concern, without interference with their stated duties, you can do the same. If the young men of the Republic, elsewhere, are making it a part of their patriotism, there can be no good reason why the young men of a higher education should regard it with apathy. Indeed,—why must it not be a reproach to them, if found holding back? if, while the young men, who enter the service of society from the work-bench, the plough, and the counting-room, carry into affairs a habit of rigid self-denial, those from our colleges are distinguished for adhering to the self-indulgence which others have abandoned? If the country is to be a gainer by this extraordinary movement; if the fountains of wretchedness and crime are to be in a manner dried up; if happiness, virtue, and prosperity are to be indefinitely increased; if the good and wise are not altogether lunatic in their congratulations, and the community and the Church stark mad in their expressions of gratitude to these recent benefactors; — then, surely, it is becoming that the educated classes should not be found recreant; — it must not be that they,— entitled to a place among the leaders,— who always have been, and always must be, treated with a certain deference as lights of the social order; — it must not be that they forfeit what belongs to them, by backwardness to aid the improvement on which the community prides itself.

But there are other considerations. Painful as it may be to say it, it is yet true, as we are all aware, that there are peculiar exposures in the life you are leading here. Separated from home, absent from the society of the domestic circle and the occupations which there satisfy the mind and heart, young men are thrown together here in a situation somewhat unnatural. They must compensate among one another for the want of what they have left behind. They must contrive such substitutes as they can for the companions and enjoyments which nature provides; and, in doing this, — amid the chances of accidental companionship, in the thoughtlessness of inexperience, in the overflow of social gayety, in the excitement of numbers, festivity, and song, what wonder that some are beguiled! — that the unwary are entrapped and the pure overwhelmed! It is not necessary to seek any statistical comparison with young men in other walks of life; — without such comparison the roll of names is melancholy enough. One's heart aches, who can look back a quarter of a century, at calling up the images of promising boys and gifted men, whose beauty and promise have been blighted by

this terrible curse. Shall I tell you how many of my classmates and cotemporaries learned here to brave the wine cup, and have perished by intemperance? — one of them under circumstances so appalling, after so protected a childhood, that one would think it lawful, not only to bind the inexperienced by a pledge, but in fetters of iron, rather than expose him to the slightest hazard of so fearful a catastrophe. If that case could be brought before you, in all its sad and loathsome details, — and you could be assured that there was now sitting among you *one* who was destined to pass through the same abandonment to the same end — you should not be told who — you should only know it to be one whom you daily meet and welcome — who has father and mother now sitting at home talking of him, planning for him; and sisters, whose own sweet hands at nightly toil provide for his support and comfort here; and it should be told to you that he, meantime, unwarily beginning here, shall go on step by step to the extremity of that deep damnation; — suppose that all this were revealed to you; — I believe that you would rise up as one man, and pledge yourselves with an oath to taste only water while life remains, that so he might be delivered. I can fancy that I already see you with glistening eyes offer yourselves to the act.

Would you do this for that one? And do you not know that there are sitting on those seats, — if we may judge the future by the past, — in all human probability more than one, — more than two, — more than five, — upon whom that sad fate will fall? You could hardly be more certain of it, if an angel told you from heaven. But you can save them. Their fate is in your hands. You have but to rise up, as others around you are doing, and forswear the ruinous indulgence, and you thereby save them, beyond all peradventure, from the threatening ruin.

Will you not do this? Will you not, in the spirit of the Apostle, take up his magnanimous resolution, and abide by it steadfastly to the end? MY LIBERTY SHALL NEVER BE A STUMBLING-BLOCK IN A BROTHER'S WAY. IF ANY INDULGENCE OF MINE WOULD LEAD A BROTHER TO OFFEND, I WILL TASTE IT NO MORE WHILE THE WORLD STANDS, LEST I CAUSE A BROTHER TO OFFEND.

CRITICAL NOTICES.

The Prelatical Doctrine of Apostolical Succession Examined, and the Protestant Ministry Defended against the Assumptions of Popery and High-Churchism, in a Series of Lectures. By THOMAS SMYTH, Pastor of the Second Congregational Church, Charleston, S. C. Boston: Crocker & Brewster. 1841. 8vo. pp. 568.

THIS work, as the author is careful to inform us, is not intended to be an attack on Episcopacy, strictly so called, but on the ultra doctrines of the "Prelatists," especially as represented by the divines of the Oxford school. The writer is himself a Presbyterian, though not a bigoted one, and he expects to carry along with him the sympathy not only of all "Non-Episcopal and Evangelical Communions," but of all "Evangelical or Low-Church Episcopalians," who, from duty and interest, are equally concerned with the former, in opposing what he calls "the exclusive assumptions of Popery and High-Churchism." The object of the work is thus more particularly stated in the introduction.

"The subject-matter of the following volume is the Prelatical doctrine of Apostolical succession, or the exclusive claims of High-Churchmen and Romanists, to be the ONLY true Church of Jesus Christ; his ONLY true and valid ministers; and the only sources of efficacious ordinances and covenanted salvation. This doctrine, and not Episcopacy, is the subject of our animadversion. The principles involved in this assumption — and not the character and standing of the Protestant Episcopal Church — we condemn.

"High-Churchism, in contradistinction to Low-Churchism; Prelacy considered as being the ultraism of Episcopacy; the exclusive, bigoted, and intolerant assumptions of the hierarchy, in their wide separation from the peaceful and equal claims of the Episcopal denomination; this, we wish it to be distinctly understood, is the object of our reprobation, whether the arguments, by which the Episcopal form of Church government is sustained, are valid, or of greater strength than those produced for Presbytery, is another question, which we may have occasion to consider. This, however, is not our present inquiry. That inquiry is simply and in substance, this: — *Is the Prelacy the only Church of Christ, in this or in any other country, and the only source of covenanted mercy and efficacious grace? And, are Presbyterian, and all other denominations, which claim to be Churches of Christ, having ministers and ordinances according to his appointment, — are they impostors, who only deceive ignorant people, to their great, and serious, if not fatal injury?* This is the question to be answered, — plainly, — candidly, — either in the affirmative or in the negative." — pp. ix., x.

Among other inducements to engage in the work, the author mentions facts within his own experience, as "the manifestation of alienation of feeling; of haughty reserve; of high-toned exclusiveness; of reluctance to associate with him, or in any way to acknowledge him as a minister; and the open declaration of sentiments at war with all charity, and which threw him out of the pale of Christianity — at various times and by various persons." There has been, he says, for many years, a growing interest in the subject he proposes to discuss, which has been greatly augmented of late by the publication of the Oxford Tracts, which have been reprinted, and, as he tells us, industriously circulated, and noticed in "terms of praise and exultation," in this country, where they are exerting a wide influence.

Whether or not the writer overrates this influence, is a question on which we shall not now enter. He has been annoyed, it seems, by the officiousness of some over-zealous champions of Prelacy; and, no doubt, their pretensions would be provoking enough, were it not that their absurdity tempts a smile. As it is, we apprehend no great danger from them. The "Divine right" of Prelacy, like the "Divine right" of kings, is an outworn and obsolete superstition; — it is in direct antagonism with the spirit of the age, and it will require something more than the Oxford divines and their coadjutors on either side of the water to resuscitate it. The plain good sense of the American people, their love of liberty, their matter-of-fact shrewdness, and the blessings they have so long enjoyed under their free administration of religion, will pretty effectually secure them, we suspect, against the inroads of the old and stale theory of hierarchical power and transmitted sanctity.

In saying this, we by no means intend to intimate that the work before us is ill-timed or superfluous. Such is not our opinion. We believe it will do good. It will meet the new phase of the controversy, and supply what, we have no doubt, is, in some parts of our country, a pressing want. Even the greatest absurdities, "iterated and re-iterated," in a tone of unblushing confidence, will gain some adherents. Besides, the old treatises on the subject are, in a manner, inaccessible to the general reader, and were they to be had, a fresh production will be more read, and will produce a deeper impression, even if it be not more applicable, which in ordinary cases it will be, to the state of the times.

The present volume we regard as not only suited to the times, but in itself a production of no trifling merit. It indicates great industry, and no little research on the part of the writer, and its statements appear, from such examination as we have been

able to give it, entitled to confidence. The style is not particularly pleasing, and perhaps the arrangement might in some instances have been better, and parts more condensed; but there is an earnestness, good temper, and thoroughness, which mark the work, which we like, and we can very cordially commend it to the attention of all who feel an interest in the subject.

If there must be an uninterrupted succession, the author drily insinuates, (we believe it is the only joke he perpetrates throughout the volume,) that the best mode of securing it may be that of the Calmuck Tartars, "whose successive priests drink, each in turn, a cup wherein are mingled the ashes of his predecessor."

The Letters of John Adams addressed to his Wife. Edited by his Grandson, CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS. Boston: Little & Brown. 1841. 2 vols. 12mo. pp. 286 and 282.

WE have already spoken of the letters of Mrs. Adams, published a few months ago. A volume containing letters of her daughter has been since given to the public by *her* daughter, Mrs. De Windt, and we have now from the hands of the editor of the first-named publication, two volumes of the letters of John Adams, the second President. These are — the first and the last, especially, valuable additions to our historical library. Many more such volumes, we trust, are yet to make their appearance. Rich materials must exist, hitherto untouched, among the papers of the descendants of the founders of the Republic in every part of the country, at the South as well as the North. They ought not to be allowed to perish. It matters comparatively little whether such letters shall possess great merit as specimens of the epistolary form of writing. This is a very inferior consideration. Few publications could have less claim to distinction on that account than the volumes before us; we mean by this that there is nothing like elegant writing in them; nor — if that be considered out of place in letter-writing — is there anything of that full, graceful flow of thought and language, which is laid down as the fittest characteristic of this form of composition. It would be enough that they came from a mind of native vigor — we could want no others — and were a sincere expression of the feelings and opinions, experience and observation, of such a mind. They would then present us with those minute and vivid sketches, drawn from the life, of a particular period, for which we ask in the formal history, but never find, not even in the picture-painting Carlyle. The Washington letters by Mr. Sparks, with his running commentary in the form of notes, con-

stitute such a history as we speak of, of our Revolution—the best that has been written, and probably the best that will be written.

There is one other form of publication of a corresponding kind and value, of which we should like to see an example, from which a quite equal light would be thrown on the times of which it should treat. We mean volumes gathered from those day-histories — those (we do not speak ironically,) those truest of histories, the newspapers of any stirring period, made up not merely of regularly appearing essays, such as those of the "Federalist," but of much more miscellaneous and less pretending matter, yet as pertinent to the end in view; editorial articles, namely, items of news, communications of correspondents, reports of meetings, even flying rumors and advertisements, from which, wisely culled, and arranged simply in chronological order, there would come a life-like picture, done with the very colors of nature, that would impress the mind more vividly with the true character of the times, than any other more elaborately wrought out afterwards by the annalist or historian.

Mr. Adams was never meant for a letter-writer. He evidently disliked the labor, and wrote at all only because he must. It was a duty he owed to others, and he performed it, as he did his other duties, with scrupulous fidelity. Mrs. Adams, indeed, seems to have complained at times of remissness, but most unreasonably, if we may judge by his warm-hearted and eloquent defences in some of his letters from Paris. He never dilates upon a subject; his impatience of words will allow him only to touch it, and be off. He is rapid, bold, impetuous, says what he *must* say, in the fewest words possible, but those words, when the theme excites him, were words of fire — thunderbolts. He is by consequence never what can be called an agreeable, pleasing writer. Such epithets are utterly inapplicable to him. They are too feminine. He appears in his letters much such a person as he must have been in society, if we may reason from the character he gives of himself. "There are," he says, "very few people in this world with whom I can bear to converse. I can treat all with decency and civility, and converse with them when it is necessary on points of business. But I am never happy in their company. This has made me a recluse, and will one day make me a hermit." This was said in '75. Doubtless, longer intercourse with the world made of him at last more of a world's man; but such a person would be the last — modified as he might have been by circumstances — from whom to look for an hour's idle talk, or a letter of three or four pages of mere elegant writing or literary chit-chat. Some of these letters are of very little value; they have no merely agreeable qualities—nor distinctly, any other—and only serve as

illustrations of his manner of writing, when there was nothing to be said, showing how summarily he could deal with the difficulty. The best, we think, are those written during the Revolution from Philadelphia, and afterwards during his Vice-Presidency — the least attractive those from abroad. The restraint he was under as a public man, at first and at last, lest his letters should be intercepted and turned against himself or the country, led him to confine himself in a great proportion of them to matters of personal or family interest, so that at the most momentous epochs, the reader is vexed and disappointed to meet with so little relating to the events, politics, and distinguished men of the period. The vexation is wholly unreasonable we know, but one cannot but feel it. These letters are after all, therefore, rather a portrait of the writer, drawn by himself, than a picture of the times. They indeed paint the times; but in a sort of dead coloring — himself, with a full, strong brush, and with virgin tints.

We offer a few extracts. In the following letter we have an account of the opening of the Congress in 1774.

"Having a leisure moment, while the Congress is assembling, I gladly embrace it to write you a line.

"When the Congress first met, Mr. Cushing made a motion that it should be opened with prayer. It was opposed by Mr. Jay of New York and Mr. Rutledge of South Carolina, because we were so divided in religious sentiments; some Episcopalians, some Quakers, some Anabaptists, some Presbyterians, and some Congregationlists, that we could not join in the same act of worship. Mr. Samuel Adams arose and said 'he was no bigot, and could hear a prayer from a gentleman of piety and virtue, who was at the same time a friend to his country. He was a stranger in Philadelphia, but had heard that Mr. Duché' (Dushay they pronounce it) 'deserved that character, and therefore he moved, that Mr. Duché, an episcopal clergyman, might be desired to read prayers to the Congress tomorrow morning.' The motion was seconded and passed in the affirmative. Mr. Randolph, our President, waited on Mr. Duché and received for answer that, if his health would permit, he certainly would. Accordingly, next morning he appeared with his clerk and in his pontificals, and read several prayers in the established form, and then read the collect for the seventh day of September, which was the thirty-fifth Psalm. You must remember, this was the next morning after we heard the horrible rumor of the cannonade of Boston. I never saw a greater effect upon an audience. It seemed as if Heaven had ordained that Psalm to be read on that morning.

"After this, Mr. Duché, unexpectedly to everybody, struck out into an extemporary prayer, which filled the bosom of every man present. I must confess, I never heard a better prayer, or one so well pronounced. Episcopalian as he is, Dr. Cooper himself never prayed with such fervor, such ardor, such earnestness and pathos, and in language so elegant and sublime, for America, for the Congress, for the province

of Massachusetts Bay, snd especially the town of Boston. It has had an excellent effect upon everybody here. I must beg you to read that Psalm. If there was any faith in the sortes Virgilianæ, or sortes Homericæ, or especially the sortes Biblicæ, it would be thought providential." — Vol. I. pp. 23, 24.

Of Dr. Franklin, he writes to Mrs. Adams in these terms, July 1775.

"You have more than once, in your letters, mentioned Dr. Franklin, and in one, intimated a desire that I should write you something concerning him.

"Dr. Franklin has been very constant in his attendance on Congress from the beginning. His conduct has been composed and grave, and, in the opinion of many gentlemen, very reserved. He has not assumed anything, nor affected to take the lead; but has seemed to choose that the Congress should pursue their own principles and sentiments, and adopt their own plans. Yet he has not been backward; has been very useful on many occasions, and discovered a disposition entirely American. He does not hesitate at our boldest measures, but rather seems to think us too irresolute and backward. He thinks us at present in an odd state, neither in peace nor war, neither dependent nor independent; but he thinks that we shall soon assume a character more decisive. He thinks that we have the power of preserving ourselves; and that even if we should be driven to the disagreeable necessity of assuming a total independency, and set up a separate state, we can maintain it. The people of England have thought that the opposition in America was wholly owing to Dr. Franklin; and I suppose their scribblers will attribute the temper and proceedings of Congress to him; but there cannot be a greater mistake. He has had but little share, further than to coöperate and to assist. He is, however, a great and good man." — Vol. I. pp. 53, 54.

From a letter dated the third of July, we take Mr. Adams's reflections upon the passing of the resolutions declaring the independence of the Colonies.

"Yesterday, the greatest question was decided, which ever was debated in America, and a greater, perhaps, never was nor will be decided among men. A Resolution was passed without one dissenting Colony "that these United Colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent States, and as such they have, and of right ought to have, full power to make war, conclude peace, establish commerce, and to do all other acts and things which other States may rightfully do." You will see, in a few days, a Declaration setting forth the causes which have impelled us to this mighty revolution, and the reasons which will justify it in the sight of God and man. A plan of confederation will be taken up in a few days.

"When I look back to the year 1761, and recollect the argument concerning writs of assistance in the superior court, which I have hitherto considered as the commencement of this controversy between Great Britian and America, and run through the whole period, from that time to this, and recollect the series of political events, the chain of

causes and effects, I am surprised at the suddenness, as well as greatness of this revolution. Britain has been filled with folly, and America with wisdom; at least, this is my judgment. Time must determine. It is the will of Heaven that the two countries should he sundered forever. It may be the will of Heaven that America shall suffer calamities still more wasting, and distresses yet more dreadful. If this is to be the case, it will have this good effect at least. It will inspire us with many virtues, which we have not, and correct many errors, follies, and vices which threaten to disturb, dishonor, and destroy us. The furnace of affliction produces refinement in states as well as individuals. And the new Governments we are assuming in every part will require a purification from our vices, and an augmentation of our virtues, or they will be no blessings. The people will have unbounded power, and the people are extremely addicted to corruption and venality, as well as the great. But I must submit all my hopes and fears to an overruling providence, in which, unfashionable as the faith may be, I firmly believe. — Vol. I. pp. 124, 125.

Again, from another letter of the same date.

"But the day is past. The second* day of July, 1776, will be the most memorable epocha in the history of America. I am apt to believe that it will be celebrated by succeeding generations as the great anniversary Festival. It ought to be commemorated, as the day of deliverance, by solemn acts of devotion to God Almighty. It ought to be solemnized with pomp and parade, with shows, games, sports, guns, bells, bonfires, and illuminations from one end of the continent to the other, from this time forward forevermore.

"You will think me transported with enthusiasm, but I am not. I am well aware of the toil, and blood, and treasure, that it will cost us to maintain this Declaration, and support and defend these States. Yet, through all the gloom, I can see the rays of ravishing light and glory. I can see that the end is more than worth all the means. And that posterity will triumph in that day's transaction, even although we should rue it, which I trust in God we shall not." — Vol. I. pp. 128, 129.

His countrymen do not move fast enough for Mr. Adams. He thus gives vent to his vexation. The letter is dated April, 1777.

"I am wearied out with expectations that the Massachusetts troops would have arrived, ere now, at Head Quarters. Do our people intend to leave the continent in the lurch? Do they mean to submit? or what fatality attends them? With the noblest prize in view that ever mortals contended for, and with the fairest prospect of obtaining it upon easy terms, the people of the Massachusetts Bay are dead. Does

* The practice has been to celebrate the 4th of July, the day upon which the form of the declaration of Independence was agreed to, rather than the 2d, the day upon which the resolution, making that declaration, was determined upon by the Congress."

our state intend to send only half, or a third of their quota? Do they wish to see another crippled, disastrous, and disgraceful campaign, for want of an army? I am more sick and more ashamed of my own countrymen, than ever I was before. The spleen, the vapors, the dismals, the horrors seem to have seized our whole state. More wrath than terror has seized me. I am very mad. The gloomy cowardice of the times is intolerable in New England." — Vol. I. p. 217.

The letter thus closes.

"Posterity! you will never know how much it cost the present generation to preserve your freedom! I hope you will make a good use of it. If you do not, I shall repent in Heaven that I ever took half the pains to preserve it." — Vol. I. p. 218.

Here is a picture of some of the effects of a state of war.

"Prices current. Four pounds a week for board, besides finding your own washing, shaving, candles, liquors, pipes, tobacco, wood, &c. Thirty shillings a week for a servant. It ought to be thirty shillings for a gentleman and four pounds for the servant, because he generally eats twice as much, and makes twice as much trouble. Shoes, five dollars a pair. Salt, twenty-seven dollars a bushel. Butter, ten shillings a pound. Punch, twenty shillings a bowl. All the old women and young children are gone down to the Jersey shore to make salt. Salt water is boiling all round the coast, and I hope it will increase. For it is nothing but heedlessness and shiftlessness that prevents us from making salt enough for a supply. But necessity will bring us to it. As to sugar, molasses, rum, &c., we must leave them off. Whiskey is used here instead of rum, and I don't see but it is just as good. Of this, the wheat and rye countries can easily distil enough for the use of the country. If I could get cider I would be content.

"The business of the country has been in so critical and dangerous a situation for the last twelve months, that it was necessary the Massachusetts should have a full representation, but the expenses of living are grown so enormous that I believe it will be necessary to reduce the number of Delegates to three, after the campaign is over." — Vol. I. p. 259.

We have alluded to Mr. Adams's defence against the charge of remissness in writing. After reading the letter which follows, and with which we close our selections, it will be hard to believe him to have been in fault.

"This moment I had, what shall I say? the pleasure or the pain of your letter of 25th October. As a letter from my dearest friend it gave me a pleasure that it would be in vain to attempt to describe; but the complaints in it gave me more pain than I can express. This is the third letter I have received in this complaining style. The former two I have not answered. I had endeavored to answer them. I have written several answers; but upon a review, they appeared to be such as I could not send. One was angry, another was full of grief, and the third with melancholy, so that I burnt them all. If you

write me in this style, I shall leave off writing entirely. It kills me. Can profession of esteem be wanting from me to you? Can protestation of affection be necessary? Can tokens of remembrance be desired? The very idea of this sickens me. Am I not wretched enough in this banishment without this? What course shall I take, to convince you that my heart is warm? You doubt, it seems. Shall I declare it? Shall I swear to it? Would you doubt it the less? and is it possible you should doubt it? I know it is not. If I could once believe it possible, I should not answer for the consequences. But I beg you would never more write to me in such a strain, for it really makes me unhappy. Be assured, that no time nor place can change my heart; but that I think so often and so much of the blessings from which I am separated, as to be too unmindful of those who accompany me; and that I write to you as often as my duty will permit." — Vol. II. pp. 36, 37.

Biography and Poetical Remains of the late Margaret Miller Davidson. By Washington Irving. Second Edition. Philadelphia: Lea & Blanchard. 1841.

Miss Sedgwick, in a beautiful memoir published a few years ago, directed the attention of many readers to the remarkable history of Lucretia Davidson. This had been previously done in England by Mr. Southey, who has added an enviable wreath to his literary fame by this ready kindness with which he has builded the tombs of those, who have been early distinguished by their genius and their virtues. We are glad, that the task of commemorating her no less interesting sister has fallen into the hands of a writer of true taste and feeling, like Mr. Irving. For it has not unfrequently been the case, that modern biographers have done little honor either to themselves, or to the memory of those whom they have proposed to render immortal. No reader could desire that the story of these lovely sisters should be otherwise told than it is; such bright and beautiful gems would only be injured in their lustre by a careless or gorgeous setting. Their genius was so extraordinary, their purity so stainless, and their lives so early ended, that they gave the impression of superior beings, returning home after accomplishing their short mission here below; a short, but a holy mission; designed to show how delightful and how attractive genius is, when the light is thrown over it of high religious feeling, and of perfect grace and purity of character.

The story of Margaret is brief, and quickly told. It is but the story of early development of great poetical talent, extinguished by early death. Her life glided too quietly away to afford the biographer much incident to tell; but there was a daily beauty in it, which makes it eminently instructive, as well

as delightful. The materials for its preparation were derived almost exclusively from her mother, who appears to have been a fit instructer and guardian of such a child; and the relations existing between them, of deep responsibility, fond solicitude, natural maternal pride, and devoted affection on the part of the one, and of open, ardent, and confiding love on the part of the other, presents one of the most interesting objects of contemplation which life has to show.

Margaret Miller Davidson was born in Plattsburg, on Lake Champlain, the residence of her father, Dr. Oliver Davidson, on the 26th of March, 1823. She was his youngest daughter; and she was early attended with the fondest affection by her sister Lucretia, who died before Margaret was quite two years and a half old; but who was spared long enough to feel the conviction, that the poetical talent, which has given so much lustre to her own name, was imparted also to this object of her early care. Young as Margaret was, she is said to have understood and appreciated Lucretia's character. "She loved," says her mother, "to sit hour after hour on a cushion at my feet, her little arms resting upon my lap, and her full dark eyes fixed upon mine, listening to anecdotes of her sister's life and details of the events which preceded her death; often exclaiming, while her face beamed with mingled emotions, 'Oh, Mama, I will try to fill her place! Oh teach me to be like her!'" Indeed, the memory of that most lovely being was ever present with her; and there are no more touching passages of her poetry, than those in which she expresses her deep affection for her sister, and her ever-present sorrow for her death. Until her fourth year her lessons were entirely oral, her mother fearing to teach her to read, lest her health should be impaired by too constant application. She was then in consequence of the ill health of Mrs. Davidson, placed for a year under the charge of a lady in Canada, by whom she was taught to read, and under whose care she commenced lessons in writing. From this period her education was conducted by her mother; and as her biographer remarks, "This maternal instruction, while it kept her apart from the world, and fostered a singular purity and innocence of thought, contributed greatly to enhance her imaginative powers, for the mother partook largely of this poetical temperament of the child; it was, in fact, one poetical spirit ministering to another."

Her poetical character was very early indicated by her perceptions of the beauty of natural scenery, to the charms of which she evinced, from the earliest childhood, a remarkable sensibility. One of her early expressions in speaking of the

stars was, that they "shone like the eyes of angels." Her religious impressions appeared, in the language of her mother, to be "interwoven with her existence." Her rapture in the presence of the grand and beautiful breathed itself forth in gratitude to Him to whom we owe them, and often uttered itself in the language of prayer. At the age of six years, she read with delight the writings of the greatest of the British poets, marking their beauties with discriminating taste. It was about this period, that her thoughts, unconsciously to herself, began to clothe themselves in rhyme. On one occasion, while looking out from a window at which her mother was seated, upon a lovely landscape, she exclaimed.

"See those lofty, those grand trees;
Their high tops waving in the breeze;
They cast their shadows on the ground
And spread their fragrance all around."

On another occasion, she had been reproved by her mother for some act of disobedience, and persisted for some time in justifying her fault. Her mother gently reasoned with her, and left her to her reflections. An hour or two afterwards she begged to be admitted, threw her arms round her mother's neck, and, sobbing violently, put into her hands the following verses.

"Forgiven by my Saviour dear,
For all the wrongs I 've done,
What other wish could I have here?
Alas, there yet is one.

"I know my God has pardoned me,
I know he loves me still;
I wish forgiven I may be
By her I 've used so ill.

"Good resolutions I have made,
And thought I loved my Lord;
But ah! I trusted in myself,
And broke my foolish word.

"But give me strength, O Lord, to trust
For help alone in thee;
Thou know'st my inmost feelings best,
Oh! teach me to obey."

Various other indications of early talent are given by her biographer, on which we have no room to dwell. Among them was that of extemporaneous story-telling, which she would carry on with the utmost propriety and ease for hours

together. Between the age of six and seven, she entered upon the study of English grammar, geography, history, and rhetoric, still under the direction of her mother; and it was at all times necessary to check the ardor of her application, in order to induce her to take the exercise which her delicate health required. From this period, until the age of eleven, she continued to be the object of the fondest affection of her friends, mingled at times with painful solicitude, as her health became precarious. Then she received a severe shock in the death of her only remaining sister, resident in Canada, whom she had regarded as a second mother; a lady of much loveliness of person, and of refined and intelligent mind. On the return of Margaret from New York, whither she had been sent on a visit to mitigate the effect of this afflicting blow, she found her mother bowed down by her sorrows; and from an effusion addressed at this time, "To my Mother, oppressed with sorrow," we take the following very beautiful and touching passage.

"Oh let the eye of heaven-born faith disperse
The darkening mists of earthly grief, and pierce
The clouds which shadow dull mortality!
Gaze on the heaven of glory crowned with light,
Where rests thine own sweet child with radiant brow,
In the same voice that charmed her father's halls,
Chanting sweet anthems to her Maker's praise;
And watching with delight the gentle buds
Which she had lived to mourn; watching thine own,
My mother! the soft unfolding blossoms,
Which, ere the breath of earthly sin could taint,
Departed to their Saviour; there to wait
For thy fond spirit in the home of bliss!
The angel babes have found a second mother;
But when thy soul shall pass from earth away,
The little cherubs then shall cling to thee,
And their sweet guardian welcome thee with joy,
Protector of their helpless infancy,
Who taught them how to reach that happy home."

These lines, be it remembered, are the production of a child of only eleven years of age.

It, however, soon became obvious to her friends, that this flower was doomed to perish beneath that most insidious of all destroyers, consumption; and, though at times, hopes were entertained that her life might be prolonged, they proved utterly vain. From the age of eleven until fifteen, the period of her death, her intellect continued to unfold itself, as if the usual efforts of protracted life were to be crowded into a few short

years; and the graces of her character, her delightful temper, forgetfulness of self, and more than all, her lofty religious feeling, continued to throw an irresistible attraction around her. Her personal beauty was no less remarkable than her intellectual superiority. It seemed hard for one so young, so accomplished, and so lovely, to be called so early to depart; but she bowed with meek submission, and the close of life was no less brightened by religious hope, than her few short years had been by the graces of her mind. We are unwilling to impair the deep interest which her biographer has thrown over this period by any attempt to follow him; still less to allude to the incidents of her last hours, which are related by Mrs. Davidson, in a letter to Miss Sedgwick, with an eloquence and pathos, the more affecting, because perfectly unstudied and natural.

The first poetical effusions of youth are generally imitative, both as regards sentiment and the form of expression. It takes for granted, that what the world calls poetry, is such; and that the only hope of becoming poetical, is to follow in the path of others. The fountain within, springing up to inspiration, is not apt to flow in infancy; but with this remarkable girl, it was far otherwise. Her verses are the natural outpouring of her thoughts and feelings; her longer productions are the least interesting, because they betray the consciousness of effort; but nothing can be more simply beautiful than those which are suggested by her own circumstances. Her enthusiastic love of natural scenery, her deep and fond affections, and her sorrows, which were many, because those of all became her own, are all breathed forth with the truth and eloquence of nature. Her verses are sometimes imperfect in their structure; but they commonly flow with grace and sweetness; and they indicate a maturity of thought, combined with a loftiness of feeling, which sometimes lead us to forget that they are the work of one, whose light went down before that of others is commonly at the dawn. We do most earnestly recommend this work to the attention of all readers. If they are lost in wonder at the premature development of her powers, they will find enough to love and imitate in her simple and beautiful character, her child-like innocence, and her deep devotion to her God. They will see before them a bright image of that blessedness which is the portion of the pure in heart.

We close with the following extract from some lines written at the age of thirteen.

"Oh how mysterious is the bond
Which blends the earthly with the pure,

And mingles that which death may blight
With that which ever must endure!

"Arise, my soul, from all below,
And gaze upon thy destined home,
The heaven of heavens, the throne of God,
Where sin and care may never come.

"Prepare thee for a state of bliss,
Unclouded by this mortal veil,
Where thou shalt see thy Maker's face,
And dews from Heaven's own air inhale.

"How sadly do the sins of earth,
Deface thy purity and light,
That thus, while gazing on thyself,
Thou shrink'st in horror at the sight.

"Compound of weakness and of strength,
Mighty, yet ignorant of thy power!
Loftier than earth, or air, or sea,
Yet meaner than the lowliest flower!

"Soaring towards heaven, yet clinging still
To earth, by many a purer tie!
Longing to breathe a purer air,
Yet fearing, trembling, thus to die!"

Confessions of an English Opium-Eater. Being an Extract from the Life of a Scholar. From the last London Edition. Boston: William D. Ticknor. 1841. pp. 190.

It has been settled, we believe, that this work of De Quincy is a work of genius. No one can deny its power. Nor can any one doubt that its influences must on the whole be injurious, — why, we cannot show, without doing the same mischief as the book. The best part of the volume is the account given of the early school-day experiences of the author, and his adventures and desperate poverty in London, — a narrative that moves to both smiles and tears. As for the dreams, we were greatly disappointed in them, and are free to declare, that without the cost or use of opium, we dream as well every night.

An Argument on the Unconstitutionality of Slavery, embracing an Abstract of the Proceedings of the National and State Conventions on this Subject. By G. W. F. Mellen. Boston: Saxton & Pierce. 1841. pp. 440.

To prove the unconstitutionality of slavery is the precise ob-

ject of this volume of Mr. Mellen. He says in his Introduction, that "The idea having been advanced in some of our most prominent political and religious journals, and also in various addresses made to the public by members belonging to both political parties, that no person out of the slave States had anything to do with slavery; that its abolition belongs solely to the States in which it exists; that *we* have nothing more to do with it than if these States were foreign nations, and that we violate the law of nations by meddling with it; and that, if these States were not of our own household, the proceedings of the abolitionists would be a cause of war; and, further, (the doctrine is advanced by some,) that slavery was by the Constitution guaranteed to the South, — it is our purpose to consider these several subjects, and see how far they can be true, and if in truth it be possible we can arrive to any such alarming conclusions." In order to make out his case, he then proceeds to an examination of the language used by distinguished men in the time of the Revolution, by the first settlers of the country, by the members of the Convention for the forming of the Federal Constitution, and of the various State Conventions, and in decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States, from all which he arrives at the conclusion, "that the Constitution does not nor cannot guarantee slavery." It will prove an interesting and useful volume to those, who would look back at the opinions early entertained in relation to this subject.

Parisian Linguist; or an Easy Method of Acquiring a Perfect Pronunciation of the French Language without a French Master. Intended for Academies and Schools in the United States, and for American Travellers in Europe. By an American resident in Paris. Boston: Marsh, Capen, Lyon & Co. 1841. pp. 256.

On opening this volume one is, at first, simply inclined to laugh at the unprecedented combinations of vowels and consonants which meet his eye on every page, reminding him, among mortal tongues, only of Choctaw and Cherokee. Verses from Eliot's Indian Bible seem to swim before his eyes. Neither Teutonic nor Sclavonic dialects, though they have formerly astonished him, have now any effect. The Parisian Linguist out-syllables and out-letters them all. We subjoin a few specimens of the author's mode of expressing French words, by combinations of letters carrying with them their usual English power. We hope that the reader's curiosity to solve the riddles will induce him to purchase the volume.

"Trwoahzeeaimmaung. Voo zayteay kongseeahngseeur.
Neh maungpayshay pah dahpraundr mah lehsong.
Vo shaung. Lockahzeeong. Lay gahrsohng. Layz eenyohrahng.
Ayxsayptay, *oo* orrmee sah maire.
Mohyennahng teune sohmm dahrjaung.
Nohnnohbstahng leh môvay taung.
Eel pahrtee poor layz Aangd ohreahngtarl, o graung rehgray deh sayz ahmee
Eel ah fahvohreezay toot sah fahmeeye pahr sohng taistahmaung, ah layxkleuseeohng deh sah sehr."

When the reader has puzzled himself with these, if he will then procure the book, he will find that it is by no means to be laughed at, but is ingenious in its plan, and, the directions in the preface being duly observed, may be of great service in learning a good French pronunciation. The author is confident that he has succeeded in his purpose, and that none can fail to pronounce French well who will employ his method. "I have spared no pains," he says, "to obtain perfect accuracy, and to give a pronunciation which not only can be understood, but which cannot be misunderstood." "I was so perplexed," are the concluding words of his preface, "with the endless rules for pronouncing the French language and with their multitude of exceptions, that I was resolved to cut short all this toil and furnish the exact sounds in simple English pronunciation, and by experience I have found that by this plan a child may learn to read French accurately in half the time he would be puzzling himself over the common rules and their bewildering exceptions. I now give this little volume to American schools and to American travellers; and if it does for them half what it has done for me, I shall feel amply repaid for my labors." We commend the volume heartily to the attention of the public.

Facts in Mesmerism, or Animal Magnetism. With Reasons for a Dispassionate Inquiry into it. By the Rev. Chauncy Hare Townshend, A. M., late of Trinity Hall, Cambridge. First American Edition, with an Appendix, containing the Report of the Boston Committee on Animal Magnetism. Boston: C. C. Little and James Brown. 1841. 12mo. pp. 539.

In this volume of Townshend, Animal Magnetism presents itself in a form that entitles it to a respectful attention on the part of scientific men. The manner in which the work is written shows the author to be a scholar, and, what in this connexion is more to the purpose, a careful observer, and fair re-

porter. Of these last more important qualities the book does not, in the nature of the case, of course, afford so satisfactory evidence as of the first. But the general impression left on the mind is very much in his favor. We should judge him to be, in the main, careful in his experiments, and always honest in his record. That he is never swayed by the imagination, or by his prepossessions, we cannot affirm. We dare say he is; and for such influences in investigations of this kind, we are to look as almost inevitable imperfections, and make such abatements of confidence and faith as shall seem just. But make what abatements on this score we may, throw whatever doubt we may on the author's power of accurate observation or fairness of statement, there will still remain a mass of wonder too well authenticated to be dismissed with a sneer, without invalidating at the same time the evidence on which we receive a great deal of our most valued knowledge. Let then these reported wonders and mysteries, — this is at present the extent of our interest in Animal Magnetism, — when offering themselves to notice on the warrant of testimony of an unexceptionable character, be respectfully entertained, not only by the crowds who run together to hear and see every new thing, and who, for the most part, know how neither to believe or disbelieve, — but entertained and examined in a philosophical spirit by the best trained and most scientific minds. This is due both to the intrinsic interest of the subject, and to the characters of those, who at various times have presented its facts to the world.

Agriculture of the United States; An Address delivered 14th April, 1841, before the American Institute in New York. By Henry Colman, Commissioner for the Agricultural Survey of Massachusetts. Published by request of the Institute. New York. 1841.

Next to the Temperance Movement, we know of none that has already been attended by so many advantages to society, and is likely to be productive of so many more, as what we may term, in the language of the day, the agricultural movement, under the guidance of the Massachusetts Commissioner. His visitations throughout the Commonwealth, not less useful than those of the ecclesiastical dignitary in his diocese, his public reports, and his occasional addresses, which have been not a few, have greatly helped, not only to improve the general condition of the country by scattering abroad the light of an intelligent mind, and the knowledge gathered from experience

and the study of books, but, what is even much more, to give new dignity to labor, and raise to a higher place in the public estimation, the life of the FARMER. There is hardly an individual to be named to whom the State is under higher obligations as one of its most efficient benefactors. This may seem extravagant, looking at any visible and palpable effects which can already be counted, measured, and weighed; though we do not think so;—but it is not, we are very sure, if we consider the new zeal that has been awakened throughout the community in favor of agricultural pursuits, and the large amount of the most valuable information that has been spread abroad, and, especially, if we take into the account the harvest —whose value the future only can reveal—which in a few years cannot fail to be the result of his labors. The State may well take credit to itself for the appropriations made so liberally for this department of the public service, and for the discernment shown in the selection of the individual to whom to commit the trust. But, great as the good has been, that has redounded to the farming interest from Mr. Colman's reports, which have brought the methods and the skill of every part of the Commonwealth, to every other part, and have thrown the knowledge and experience of all into a common stock from which all may draw at pleasure, we believe a quite equal benefit—or a greater—would be conferred by bringing to the doors of the Massachusetts farmer, not only the experience and the practices of his next neighbor, which may differ, for better or for worse, but little from his own, but of some more distant community distinguished for its intelligence in all the arts of husbandry. Massachusetts, for example, nay, New England, makes bad butter. One large part of it is salt, and another large part buttermilk, bitter as boneset. Exported to London, and, what here would have graced a breakfast table, has there been sold for soap-grease. But Old England makes good butter, Holland makes good; so, in our own country, Pennsylvania and New York both surpass us. It must, clearly, be of more advantage for our farmers to know what the best methods adopted in such places are, by which so superior an article is produced, than for the county of Plymouth to know how the people of Franklin make a butter almost as poor as their own. So, of the management of soils, rotation of crops, the best seeds and grains, implements of husbandry, and stock. The reports, on these things, of a commissioner sent among the Germans of Pennsylvania, the Dutch of Orange County, or the farms of Britain, might be of more advantage, possibly, than on our own modes of operation, useful as these undeniably have been.

The Address of Mr. Colman needs no commedation of ours, and we have no space for extracts, which, otherwise, we should be glad to offer.

Fragments from German Prose Writers. Translated by SARAH AUSTIN. With Biographical Sketches of the Authors. New York. D. Appleton & Company. 1841. 12mo. pp. 353.

MRS. AUSTIN has again presented to the English reader a volume of very agreeable miscellanies from the German writers. They are of all kinds, running through all the notes "from grave to gay, from lively to severe." "The choice of these passages," says the learned translator, "has been determined by considerations as various as their character and their subjects. In some it was the value of the matter, in others the beauty of the form that struck me; in some the vigorous, unaffected good sense, in others the fantastic or mystical charm. Some recalled familiar trains of thought, which meet one in a foreign literature like old friends in a far country; others suggested ideas altogether new and strange. My readers must therefore apply measures as different as those which I have used, and by no means ascribe to me the intention of recommending every opinion to their unqualified assent, or every passage to their unqualified admiration." Nothing could, accordingly, be more heterogeneous in their character than these selections. The translator apologises for devoting so many pages to Richter, and with reason, as he is a writer whose merits it seems impossible to represent in English. One of the best pieces in the volume, if not the very best, is from Möser, the German Franklin, as Goethe calls him;—"A letter from an old married woman to a sensitive young lady," or rather, "to a sensitive *young* married woman." Franklin himself could not have delivered a better piece of wisdom in the same brief compass. It makes us wish we might see more from this Möser.

The selections are followed by brief biographical sketches of the forty-three writers, from whom they have been taken. The volume, as a specimen of printing, is one of the most beautiful of the season. It is published by Appleton, but printed at our University Press. To be had of Crocker & Brewster.

The Claims of Jesus. By ROBERT TURNBULL, Pastor of Boylston Church, Boston. Boston: Gould, Kendall, & Lincoln. 1841. pp. 120.

HERE is a little volume from the Orthodox side of the

house, drawn forth by the "New Views," which are startling the community just now. The Author thus speaks in his Preface of the reasons that have moved him to write.

"At a time like this, when, under the deceptive influence of A New Philosophy, the foundations of religion are assaulted, and the grand essential truths of Christianity are either frittered away, or utterly rejected by the professed ministers of the Gospel, it behoves every one, who can use his tongue or his pen, 'to contend earnestly for the faith once delivered to the saints.' In this, therefore, the author finds his apology for the appearance of the following dissertation.

"The pious of all denominations have been lately startled by the portentous development of a new form of theological belief, which makes high pretensions to simplicity, liberality, and power, and yet rejects, with a fierce intolerance, some of the most august and precious truths of our holy religion. Attention is hence awake, especially among those who are more intimately associated with the authors of the recent movement. Besides, this system seems to be only the natural and finished result of certain favorite principles of interpretation and belief, which have hitherto been regarded as especially Rational and Liberal. The waters of religious opinion are troubled, and a mighty change either for the better or for the worse, may reasonably be anticipated. It may therefore be hoped, that a calm and scriptural exhibition of The Claims of Jesus will meet with candid and serious attention, and through the blessing of heaven, be productive of some permanent good."

We are not at all surprised at the appearance of a volume like this of Mr. Turnbull. We have rather been surprised that so little has been said at the appearance of publications, such as Mr. Parker's Sermon. The views are very much what we should expect to meet with in a writer of his religious opinions; but are presented in a spirit of moderation.

The Mnemosynum; intended to aid, not only Students and Professional Men, but every other class of Citizens, in keeping a Record of Incidents, Facts, &c., in such a manner that they may be recalled at pleasure; with an Introduction, showing its Benefits and its Manner of being kept. By John F. Ames. Utica, N. Y. Orren Hutchinson, 41 Genesee Street. 1840.

We have merely room to copy the title given above, and to say, that for those who use common-place books, this seems to be one on a convenient and comprehensive plan.

THE

CHRISTIAN EXAMINER.

JANUARY, 1842.

ART. I.— *Johan: Kirchmanni Lubecensis de Funeribus Romanorum libri quatuor cum Appendice, nitidissimis figuris illustrati.* Lugd. Batav. 1672.*

WE propose, in this paper, to continue and conclude those remarks on the Burial of the Dead, which were commenced in our last Number. † We have already referred to the necessity and to the moral and religious uses of appropriate burial; and have briefly alluded to the forms which this service has assumed among many uncivilized nations, and more particularly to those which were observed by that more cultivated and very remarkable people, the Egyptians.

The funeral rites of the Greeks and Romans were accurately and elaborately performed, in consequence of their prevalent belief that the manes, or spirits of the dead, could find no rest or peace whilst their bodies remained unburied. This fact is often referred to by their poets. Our remarks on this part of the subject will be confined to the Roman obsequies alone, both because the accounts relating to these are copious and accessible, and because they embrace, substantially, the ceremonies common to both nations.

Allusions to these rites, as is well known, are scattered over the whole range of Roman literature. Indeed, the peculiar force of many passages, both in prose and poetry, is obscured or lost, as in the instance already quoted from Gifford's Juvenal,

* For the remaining titles, see last Number.

† See page 137.

unless these funeral rites be well understood. But they are nowhere, of set purpose, described by any classical author. This deficiency, however, has been amply supplied by the elder writers mentioned at the commencement of this article. Of these we would refer again to Kirchman, whose vast reading, untiring industry, and easy style, have left little in this species of research to be desired. His work has been often used as an authority, whether quoted or not, by subsequent writers on the subject, and is, confessedly, the principal source whence has been derived the chapter on "Funerals," in the useful and well known "Roman Antiquities" of Adam.

The Funeral Rites of the Romans were arranged according to the age, wealth, and dignity of those who were the subjects of them; particular regard, also, being had to their last expressed wishes. They were of two kinds, *Indictiva*, or public, to which the people were summoned by the voice of the public crier;* or *Tacita*, † or private, plebeian, common, which were not publicly announced, and were attended with no pomp, parade, or show of any kind. The former of these will only be referred to here. It consisted, properly, of four distinct parts; first, the rites *before* the funeral; second, the *Elatio*, ‡ or carrying forth of the body to the place where it was to be burned, or buried, or both; third, the *Sepultura*, or Burial; and fourth, the *subsequent ceremonies*.

The *first* and *second* of these we shall refer to in the briefest

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* So called from the term *indico*, which the Latins used in this sense, v. g. "Funere *indicto*, Rogus extructus est in Campo Martio." The forms of citation were as follows: — Ollus quivis letho datus est. L. Titio exequias ire cui commodum est, jam tempus est. Ollus ex ædibus ecfertur.

Meursius speaks of *seven* kinds of funerals; but his distinctions are founded on circumstances, which need not be regarded in the general sketch we propose to give.

† This shows the peculiar force of Seneca's appeal (De Tranquill: Lib. 1, c. 1, § 9.) Morti natus es: minus molestiarum habet *funus tacitum*. These were also called *Simpludiaria*. To this class are also to be referred funerals which were denominated *Acerba*, or those of infants; and the *Immatura*, or those of youths who died before they had assumed the toga virilis. Virgil, speaking of the souls of infants, Æn. 6.

"Abstulit atra dies, et funere mersit acerbo."

‡ The Elatio and Sepultura were properly called the Funeratio, or Funeral.

possible way, both because they do not strictly belong to the line of remark we are now pursuing; and because the facts are easily accessible in the familiar English book above mentioned. In regard to the *third* and *fourth* parts of a Roman Funeral, we shall confine ourselves principally to those circumstances which bear especially on our present inquiry, and to those which, on any account, may appear to possess a peculiar interest.

A short summary of the Rites *before* the Funeral, is as follows. The last breath of the dying was inhaled by the nearest relatives, under the impression that the spirit or soul (anima) of the departing person thus and then left the body. Rings were taken from their fingers, their eyes * and mouths closed, and the names of the deceased loudly and repeatedly called, (conclamati.) † The very singular custom prevailed of cutting off one or more of the fingers of the deceased. This was done, either for the purpose of ascertaining whether death was real or only apparent; or, which is the more probable supposition, for the purpose of securing some parts of the dead body for the renewal of the funeral ceremonies, or parentation, (parentatio vel instauratio,) as it was called, in honor of the dead, after burial. The body was then bathed, and annointed with various antiseptic and fragrant drugs; arrayed in the best robes which belonged to the deceased; adorned with crowns or public badges of distinction which they had worn; and then brought from the inmost apartments, and placed (collocatus) on a couch in the threshold of the house, with the feet towards the door. ‡ The house where the body was thus situated, was marked as in mourning, by placing on the door branches of the pine or cypress. ‖ This was especially intended as a signal to

* Hic certe manibus fugientes pressit oculos. Ovid, Lib. III. Amor Eleg. VIII.

† Hence the phrase "conclamatum est" — there is no hope. Propertius refers to this in Liber 4. Cynthia.

"At mihi non oculos quisquam *inclamavit* euntes
Urnam impetrassem te revocante diem."

‡ Thus Persius, Sat. III.

"tandem beatulus alto
Compositus lecto, crassisque lutatus amomis
In portam rigidos calces extendit."

‖ These were considered as funereal trees. "Picea," says Pliny, Lib. 15, cap. 10, "feralis arbor, * * * ad fores posita, ac rogis virens." And of the Cypress. "Diti sacra, et ideo funebri

prevent the approach of those engaged in offering the public sacrifices, since it was supposed to be polluting to them to touch, or even look upon, a corpse.

2. After these preparatory rites, next followed in order the *Elatio*, or bearing forth of the corpse. Servius says this took place seven days after death.* It seems probable, however, that there was no set time observed; but rather such a period as was rendered necessary for the elaborate preparations required, according to the peculiar circumstances of the case. The Elatio was performed, in the early times of the Republic, in the night-time; but afterwards this practice was confined to private funerals, or those of a humble character, and the earlier hours of the day were preferred for this service in those which were public. Children, among the Athenians, were carried to the place of burial at dawn, since, as was thought, the sun should not be a spectator of such an untimely calamity. From the ancient custom, however, of funeral processions by night, the practice of bearing tapers and torches, which was always observed by day, in similar ceremonies, was borrowed. Hence the bearers were called, at first, Vesperones, (a vesperâ,) and afterwards Vespillones. The bier was preceded by various persons; by Siticines, or musicians, consisting of two kinds, Tubicines or the trumpeters, and Tibicines or the flute-players, (with instruments of a larger and broader tube than usual, and which gave a graver and louder sound); by Præficæ,† or females hired to sing, with loud and stridulous voices, the Nænia, which were rude and doleful and, sometimes, idle and silly songs; by Ludii, or players and dancers; by Scurræ, or buffoons, one of whom, called the Archimimus, imitated the appearance and bearing of the deceased; and by Freedmen, called Orcini or Charonitæ, who sometimes bore on small couches, or on spears, the images, busts, and insignia of the deceased, or of his family. The body was carried

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signo ad domos posita." These trees were held sacred to such objects, because it was supposed that, when they were once cut off, they would not grow again.

* Ad Lib. 5, v. 64, Æneid.

† "They had at their burials," says Weever, "suborned counterfeit hired mourners, which were women of the loudest voices. * * * Among these women was ever an old beldam, called Præfica. These are often alluded to by the Latin Poets. Thus in Plautus—

"Superaboque omnes argutando Præficas."

forth by the nearest relations, or, sometimes, by manumitted slaves, or by hired persons who bore different designations, such as Vespillones, Sandapilones, Bargiunæ, and Lecticarii.— The Bier * was carried covered or uncovered. In the latter case, the body was richly clad and ornamented, and with the face painted. It was carried, in opposition to the Egyptian practice, *with the feet forward*, as indicating a final departure from the world. Relations, friends, and all who wished, or wished to seem to show affection and respect for the memory of the person who was the subject of the pageant, followed the Bier, † with tears, with hair cut off or dishevelled, with garments changed or torn, with all ornaments laid aside, with beating of the breast, complaints and reproaches of the gods, in fine, with every external sign of grief. The surviving sons, who followed, were veiled, while the daughters were unveiled; it being regarded, as is supposed, that a reversal of an ordinary custom is appropriate to mourning. The procession passed through the Forum, and the bier was placed before the *Rostra*, where a funeral oration was pronounced. It was then led to an appointed place, *without the city*, and the body was there burned or buried.

3. The sepulture or burial next followed. If the remains of the dead were to be burned and *not* buried, they were taken to a place called *Ustrina;* but if they were to be both burned and buried, the place was called Bustum. ‡ They were laid upon a funeral pyre, or pile, (called Pyra, or Rogus, §) which

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* The Bier, in ancient times, of a soldier slain in battle, was his shield. Virgil (Æn. 10,) refers to this.

"Impositum *scuto* referunt Pallanta frequentes."

Hence, too, the allusion by Ausonius, who represents a certain Roman mother, when arming her son for a conflict, as saying with the peculiar pith and terseness of her own language,

"*Cum* hoc, inquit, aut *in* hoc redi."

† This act was indicated by the Romans by various phrases of frequent occurrence in the classic writers, such as *sequi, prosequi, comitare funus*, et *ire, venire exsequias.* It may be added, that it was considered wrong and discreditable thus to follow in the funeral train of one unknown.

‡ "Bustum proprie dicitur locus, in quo mortuus est combustus et sepultus, diciturque bustum, quasi bene ustum." — Teste Festo.

§ According to Meursius, the funeral pile, before it was lighted was called *Pyra*, when set on fire *Rogus*, when burnt *Bustum.*

was simply a heap of wood prepared for the purpose. This was composed of those kinds of trees which are most easily ignited; * and they were, in early times, unhewn and rough, according to a law of the Twelve Tables. † The Cypress, the Myrtle, the Cedar and Laurel, were also added on account of their fragrant odor. The Pyre was built in the form of an altar, and was raised higher or lower according to the dignity of the deceased, a fact frequently noted in the classical allusions to them. It could not be placed, according to a prohibition of the Twelve Tables, within the distance of sixty feet of any private dwelling; and by a subsequent law, enacted in the time of Augustus, (for the preservation of the public edifices,) it was to be removed at least two miles from the city.

On a pile like this, the dead body, together with the bier or bed on which it had been carried, (for it was customary to burn both together,) was placed; and after kisses and other tokens of endearment; and after the eyes of the corpse, which had been closed at death, were reopened; ‡ the fire was applied by the nearest relations, with eyes and head averted, § as indicative that necessity and not choice imposed the task; and the winds were

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* Thus that of poor Dido was made of Trees producing pitch, and of pieces of cleft ash and oak trees.

"At Regina, pyrâ penetrali in sede sub auras
Erectâ ingenti, tædis atque ilice sectâ."— Æn. Lib. 4.

Et lib. 6.

"Procumbunt piceæ, sonat icta securibus ilex,
Fraxineæque trabes; cuneis et fissile robur
Scinditur; advolvunt ingentes montibus ornos."

† "Rogum ascia ne polito."

Ovid says, Lib. 3, Eleg. 15.

"Funeris ara mihi ferali cincta cupresso
Convenit et structis flamma parata rogis."

‡ Pliny assigns as a reason for this, that it was as necessary to open the eyes of the dead on the funeral pile, to show them heaven, as it was to close their eyes before, against the sight of men. — Plin. Nat. Hist. 11. cap. 37.

Virgil is supposed to allude to this in Lib. 4, Æn.

"Dat somnos adimitque et lumina morte resignat."

§ Æn. Lib. 6.

"Aversi tenuêre facem."

"That they kindle the pyre aversely, or turning their face from it was a handsome symbol of unwilling ministration." — Sir T. Browne. Hydriotaphia.

implored to excite and cherish the fire, that its office might be quickly done.* This, as well as most of the rites used in funeral obsequies, were derived from the Greeks. Thus, Achilles, at the funeral of Patroclus, is represented as standing apart, pouring out libations and invoking the North and West winds to help the fire to consume the body as quickly as possible. Thus, in the tuneful translation of Pope:

> "But fast beside, Achilles stood in prayer,
> Invoked the gods whose spirit moves the air,
> And victims promised and libations cast
> To gentle *Zephyr* and the *Boreal* blast."

After the fire was lighted, a solemn march, thrice repeated was, in some cases, made round the pile. This was in an inverted order, (orbe sinistro,) that is, from right to left, which in all cases was a token of grief, as that from left to right, (dextratio,) denoted joy and gratulation. This was done with all the insignia of office and distinction inverted, with weapons thrown aside, and, sometimes, with the music of wind instruments. These latter forms, however, were confined to the funerals of illustrious persons; and, in regard to these, were repeated on the anniversaries (parentalibus diebus) of their sepulture.

But while the body was thus consumed, its remains were not buried alone. It was a singular and most revolting superstition of classical antiquity, that the souls of the departed were thirsty for blood, without tasting which, it was supposed that they could not speak, or know the living, though they were cognizant of events past and to come. The spirits of Penelope's suitors, for example, are said, while following the guidance of Mercury, to chirp like birds. In consequence of this superstitious notion, various animals, and particularly those which were supposed to be most dear to the deceased when living, were sacrificed on the same funeral pile with them. Achilles was lavish of blood on the occasion just referred to; and the scene in the eleventh

* As a somewhat curious fact, and one that should not be wholly passed by, it may be added, according to Plutarch, and after him, Macrobius, that it was an ancient practice, when many corpses were to be burned at once, as for example, in times of war or pestilence, the bodies of females and those of men, were mingled together, in the proportion of one of the former to ten of the latter. Those, who wish to learn the singular reasons assigned for this practice, may consult Kirchman, p. 284, and Hydriotaphia, ch. 4.

book of the Odyssey, where Ulysses, in the infernal regions, is represented as driving away with his sword the crowds of disembodied spirits, his mother amongst the rest, who gathered, like harpies, around him in eager thirst for fresh gore, is too horrible and sickening to be easily forgotten. Sophocles, in his Antigone, by the mouth of Creon, and Virgil, repeatedly, refers to the same fact.* Sometimes even human beings, such as captives, servants, and women, were sacrificed on the pile. Gifts, also, of garments, perfumes, gems, and valuable pledges of affection, were often added; and in such profusion was this done, at some periods, that they were restricted by a sumptuary law of the Twelve Tables.

After the body had been sufficiently consumed, which was indicated by the gradual settling of the white ashes upon the live coals,† the fire was extinguished, and wine‡ was sprinkled on the embers. Next in order followed the collecting (ossilegium) of the remaining bones. This practice is playfully alluded to by the festive poets of antiquity, intimating that the wine, that was thus destined to quench their burning bones after death, might be more seasonably applied in moistening their living clay. This whole practice of collecting the remains is elegantly described by Tibullus in an Elegy,§ to which certain premonitions of our waning space permit us only to refer. We gather from it, however, that this office fell to the nearest friends; their hands were carefully purified; their garments were black, unloosed, or flowing; and their feet naked, in token of reverence. The remains thus collected, were bathed with wine, milk, odors, and tears; and, being wrapped in a cloth of fine linen, were exposed, in some cases, to the wind to be dried, in others, placed in the bosom of the mother, or some near female friend.‖

But how were the remains of the dead to be distinguished from the other remnants of the funeral pile, and especially from

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* It was sometimes practised among the Jews.

† "Paulatim cana prunam velante favilla." — Ovid, Lib. 8, Metam.

‡ Milk was used at the funeral pile of boys, and sprinkled by mothers.

§ Lib. 3, Eleg. 2. All will be willing after reading this beautiful piece, to say with Kirchman, "Bene sit cultissimi Poetæ manibus."

‖ Tibullus, L. 1, Eleg. 3. Propertius, L. 1. "That the mother dried the bones in her bosom, the first fostering place of their nourishment, * * * was no improper ceremony." — Sir T. Browne.

the bones and ashes of the animals which were burned at the same time? This has occasioned much difficulty and speculation to learned men. "How," says Sir Thomas Browne, "they made distinct separation of bones and ashes from fiery admixture, hath found no historical solution; though they seemed to make a distinct collection, and overlooked not Pyrrhus his toe, which could not be burnt." Some have thought the bodies about to be consumed, were previously wrapped in "incombustible sheets made with a texture of asbestos, incremable flax, or salamander's wool, which preserved their bones and ashes incommixed." This is referred to by Pliny. But Casaubon, and after him Kirchman, thinks this separation was effected by so placing and protecting the body on the pile, as to keep it separate, in the process of burning, from everything else.*

The remains thus collected were placed in urns, called *Ossuaria.* These were made of gold, silver, brass, marble, or clay. Of this last kind were those "sad, sepulchural pitchers, which have no joyful voices," that were dug up in Norfolk, England, in the year of our Lord, 1658, and to which we owe the remarkable essay, entitled "Hydriotaphia." In these urns were frequently placed phials filled with tears, since called *Lacrymatories.* They were finally placed† in the earth, and structures of various kinds, hereafter to be briefly adverted to, were placed over or beneath them.‡ This office being performed, the Præfica exclaimed ILICET, (ire licet) which indicated the close of the ceremony. Those who remained at the funeral pile, (for it appears that only a part of the funeral procession went to the Ustrina, or place of burning, and only a part of these remained to the close of the service,) were thrice purified with water, sprinkled by a branch of olive or laurel, from the pollution which the touch of a corpse was supposed to occasion. They then shouted, in regular strains, their

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* Schedius, de diis Germ. p. 443, (a book quoted by Quenstedius De Sepul. Vet. Cap. vii., but which we have not seen) says the body was placed in a stone chest or box, "lapideæ arcæ inditum fuisse cadaver."

† They were then said to be *composita*, the word compono having often this technical meaning.

‡ "They used to quench these funeral fires with red wine, and gathering the bones together, to include them in vases, which they placed in or upon some sumptuous rich monument." — *Weever's* Discourse, p. 14.

adieus, (Salve et Vale,) and particularly the last, three times;* and then followed the touching words, "*Nos te ordine, quo natura permiserit, cuncti sequemur,*" — we must all follow thee, according as the course of nature shall permit us;† and the prayer was then offered, (*Sit tibi terra levis,*) that the earth might be light upon their remains.‡ This part of the service was then concluded by their treading out the remaining fire, their own bodies being previously sprinkled with water. They then returned home, and purified the house where the dead had been, by burning (suffitio) sulphur and laurel, and by sweeping it with a certain kind of broom, (scopæ.)

But the attention which the Romans bestowed on the remains of the dead did not terminate even with these operose rites. They prepared their sepulchres with great care, and considered this a very important part of their obsequies. They were built by individuals for themselves and families, or this office was expressly enjoined upon their heirs,§ and the inscription sometimes recorded the names of those for whom, and for whom they were *not* intended. Kirchman cites one, in which a certain individual is forbid even to approach the spot where

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* These were called "novissima verba."

"————Salve æternum mihi, maxime Palla,
Æternum vale."—Æn. Lib. XI.

† The same form of words is found on ancient monuments.

‡ This formula occurs very frequently, both in the writings and on the tombs of the ancients. It was so familiarly employed on the latter, that, like the D. M. (Diis Manibus,) only the first letters of the words composing it were used: S. T. T. L. Martial wrested from them an ill-natured jest; wishing that the earth might lie *so* light upon the remains of a certain Philenis, that the dogs might easily prowl among them:

"Sit tibi terra levis, mollique tegaris arenâ
Ne tua *non* possunt eruere ossa canes."

The form had its origin in a well known superstition prevalent at the time, that even the remains of the dead were exposed to evil incantations. The prayer for terram levem, or that the earth might lie lightly upon them, meant, therefore, that they might be free from these; and the other imprecation (terram gravem) that they might be exposed to them, and even so exposed, that the shades of the dead should be so pressed down, that they could not be evoked from the sepulchre.

The phrases of a similar import, "ut bene, vel placide quiescerent, ut moliter jacerent," were also used. The parting prayer of the Jews was, "Vade in pace."

§ This was frequently indicated in the inscriptions: v. g. SERVIUS. FECIT. VIVUS. FECIT. DE. SUA. PECUNIA. They were called by

it was placed.* These sepulchres were of various kinds. In the early period of Rome, they were nothing more than a ditch or furrow, rudely dug in the ground. But subsequently they were more elaborately constructed, and in some instances, at a great expense. Some were made to resemble small dwellings or temples, and were overlaid by, or composed of, flint, marble, iron, stone, or shells, and were adorned by images, effigies, and representations of various kinds, such as fights, huntings, sacrifices, sporting scenes, satyrs, cupids, marine gods with tails of fishes and carrying nymphs, the rape of Proserpine, the four winds, and the labors of Hercules. It was an ancient and wide spread, as well as beautiful custom, to place in a common resting place, the remains of husbands and wives, lovers, twins, friends, and those who had lived together and loved each other in life. This practice was extended to urn-burials. "All urns contained not single ashes; without confused burnings, they affectionately compounded their bones; passionately endeavoring to continue their living unions. And when distance of death denied such conjunctions, unsatisfied affections conceived some satisfaction to be neighbors in the grave, to lie urn by urn, and touch but in their names."†

The inscriptions on these monuments were in general very simple, and confined to literal facts, though sometimes they contained an eulogium on the deceased. They were begun, ordinarily, with the formal D. M., or D. M. S. (Dis Manibus Sacrum ————.) This was followed by the name of the defunct, that of his parents, country, family, together, frequently, with an account of the exact number of days and hours he had lived, the cause of his death,‡ and the amount of property he left to his heirs. If the remains were those of a female, who had been married only *once*, the fact

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different appellations, as Monimentum (quasi, according to Weever, munimentum,) Conditoria, Requietoria, Stabula cadaverum, Thesauri orcini, Tumuli, Sarcophagi, Domus æterna.

* This singular instance of post mortem indignation is as follows: LIBERTIS. LIBERTABUSQ. POSTERISQ. EORUM. EXCEPTO. HERMETE. LIBERTO. QUEM. VETO. PROPTER. DELICTA. SUA. ADITUM. AMBITUM. VEL. ULLUM. ACCESSUM. HABEAT. IN. HOC. MONIMENTO.

† Hydriotaphia.

‡ Thus, death by a cat's *bite* is recorded;

> "Hospes disce novum mortis genus, improba felis,
> Dum teneo, digitum mordet, et intereo."

was considered so creditable as to be worthy of a distinct mention. And if the marriage had been happy, this was deemed too great a boon not to be inscribed on the monument.* These sepulchres were held sacred and inviolable, (sacrum, sanctum et religiosum.) This sacredness was guarded by severe enactments, and was considered as violated by the demolition or injury of the monument; by improper (that is, forbidden,) occupancy; by removal of the remains; by mutilation,† or even the touching of them; and by taking away any thing belonging to them. This same sanctity was extended to a certain prescribed portion of the land around the sepulchre. There was, however, provision made for the lawful removal of the remains, in certain cases; and the peculiar sacredness of the spot did not commence before earth was actually thrown upon the remains. They were not considered *buried* (humatus) until then.‡

Cenotaphs, or empty monuments, as has been already intimated, were built in memory of those whose bodies were deposited in another place, or which, from any cause, remained unburied. They had their origin in a superstition of the Greeks, already mentioned, and which was afterwards religiously adopted by the Romans, that the ghosts of the departed would remain homeless, and without a resting place, until a sepulchre, to which they were solemnly invoked, was built for them. The story of Palinurus, in the sixth book of the Æneid, may be taken as an exponent of the common faith and feeling on this subject. And as the literal Weever observes, "*Octavia*, the sister of *Augustus*, buried her sonne, young *Marcellus*, * * * with six hundred cenotaphs, or hearses; and gave to

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* Phrases like these often occur: "SINE CONTROVERSIA." "SINE OFFENSA." "SINE JURGIO." We transcribe one of this description from Kirchman: D. M. D. JUNIO. PRIMOGENITO. QUI. VIX. ANNOS. XXXV. JUNIA. PALLAS. FECIT. CONJUGI. CARISSIMO. ET. PIENTISSIMO. DE. SE. BENE. MERENTI. CUM. QUO. VIXIT. ANNOS. XV. MENSES. VI. DULCITER. SINE. QUERELA. ——— It may be worth while to note, in passing, that in these Epitaphs, as in the above, the word *fecit* is used for *vixit*.

† This was done by sorcerers and witches, in preparing their charms and incantations. Parts of corpses were essential elements in philters and magical preparations. Quinctilian refers to this, (Dec. XV.) "tumula busta crutari et amputatis cadaveribus," etc. See also Horace, Sat. viii.

‡ Cic. Lib. II. Leg.

Virgil more than five thousand French crownes, in reward, for the writing of sixe and twentie hexameters in her sonne's commendation; all of *which you may have for nothing*, in the latter end of the sixth booke of his Æneidos."

We only add to this sketch of Roman obsequies, that they did not end with the final depositing of the remains in the tomb or grave. Certain days were prescribed when funereal rites (Parentationes) were observed in memory of the dead. The month of *February*, * and in an especial manner the nineteenth day thereof, were particularly set aside for those of a public nature, for these ceremonies were either public or private. They were called *Novendiales* † and *Denicales*. ‡ It is conjectured by Kirchman, that the part of the corpse which was separated before burial, as above mentioned, was then used. Sacrifices or oblations (inferiæ) were offered to the infernal deities, or to the ghosts of the departed (diis manibus.) These consisted of water, wine, milk, blood, ointments, and perfumes. Feasts and games were in like manner observed. They decked also the sepulchres of friends with fillets, floral crowns of promiscuous flowers, and some in an especial manner which were appropriated to the purpose. Of these, those of purple hue, lilies, § and especially roses, were preferred. The Greeks,

* February was chosen for this object, according to Cicero, (II. Leg.) because, in the ancient Kalendar, this was the last month of the year, as December was in his times, and is in ours. The practice is supposed to be derived from the Greeks, who observed it in their Anthestarion, or floral festival, which embraced the same part of the year. According to Ovid, the Elegiac Verse is confined to *eleven* feet, in accordance with the nineteenth day mentioned in the text, this being the eleventh before the Kalends of March, or the commencement of the new year, as anciently arranged.

† Because they lasted through nine days, or because the funeral rites were completed nine days after death.

‡ Called so, "non a *denus*, quia triduanæ erant, sed a *denico*, quod a *neco*."—Cic. II. de Leg.

§ These afforded frequent subjects of allusion to the classic poets of antiquity. A familiar Ode of Anacreon will be at once suggested to the mind. These lines of Ausonius are spirited:

"Sparge mero cineres, et odoro perlue nardo
Hospes et adde rosis balsamum puniceis,
Perpetuum mihi ver agit illacrimabilis urna,
Et commutavi secula, non obii."

Virgil, Lib. VI. Æn.

"Tu Marcellus eris. Manibus date lilia plenis:
Purpureos spargam flores."

in similar services, used the amaranth, white pothos, parsley, and myrtle.

The time and observances of mourning for the departed were determined with much accuracy, though Seneca, and writers of the same school, affected to consider such practices as womanish. "A year," he says, (that is, the old Roman year of ten months,) "was the prescribed term of mourning for women; not that they were obliged to mourn so long, but were not permitted to mourn longer. There is no legitimate period for man to mourn for the dead, because there is no time in which it is becoming to do so." * But the memorable words of Antoninus Pius is an answer to all such affected stoicism: † "Permit a friend in grief to be a man; for it is no part of a true philosophy to destroy the reign of the affections." The time, within the space of a year, of legitimate mourning had reference to the age and relationship of the departed. It was not permitted in the death of children under three years of age. From that period to the age of ten, it was lawful to mourn publicly, in the proportion of one month for every year of their life, in no case exceeding ten. These laws, it will be observed, had reference to women particularly; and it was held disreputable for them to be married in less time than a year after the death of a husband. An additional reason for thus limiting the period of mourning, is supposed to be the impression, that the manes of the departed were offended at excessive grief; and to mourn beyond the accustomed period was (prolugere) to mourn excessively. As signs of grief, women cut off their hair, while men permitted theirs to grow; ashes were scattered upon the head; clothes of a black color worn; all ornaments were laid aside; an abstinence from public amusements was observed; fire and lights in their houses were avoided as far as possible; doors were kept closed; and cypress branches were placed upon the houses of the nobles, and pine upon those of the plebeians.

The *places* of sepulture, of every kind, whether of graves, tumuli, monuments, or urns, among the Romans, were, from their earliest history, *without the city*. Numa, according to

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* Annum fœminis ad lugendum constituere majores non ut tam diu lugerent, sed ne diutius. Viro nullum legitimum tempus est, quia nullum honestum.— Epist. 64.

† Permitte illi ut homo sit: neque enim Philosophia vel imperium tollit adfectus.

Livy, and several other authorities, was buried on Janiculum; and this, it is well known, was added to the city by Ancus Martius. The remains of Servius Tullius were also carried outside of the city. This practice was afterwards prescribed by a law of the Twelve Tables.* In the year A. D. 490, a decree to the same effect was passed by the Senate; and was subsequently reinforced by the Emperors Adrian, Antoninus Pius, Diocletian, and Maximian. † The same rule was observed by the Athenians, Jews, and by all, or nearly all the dwellers on the borders of the Mediterranean sea. The reasons assigned for it were two: first, it was supposed that religious places and religious rites were polluted by burials within the city; and, second, that they were injurious to the public health. Hence graves and monuments were erected by the wayside, at the entrance of their cities. For this particular location, a further reason is assigned by Varro, "that passengers might be admonished, that they themselves were mortal, as well as those that lay interred there." Augustus and Tiberius were buried in the Via Appia, and Domitian in the Via Latina. Hence, too, is seen the appositeness of the appeal which was engraven on their monuments, "Siste Viator."

These burial places were of two kinds, private and public. Of the former kind were those which were set apart by individuals for their own use, and were chosen, as has been intimated, in spots of their land which were situated on the highway. The latter kind were for those who could not avail themselves of this privilege. Public places, also, were sometimes designated for distinguished individuals, as a mark of respect; and in some few especial cases, burial was allowed within the compass of the city.

Spencer maintains, with vast erudition, if not with entire success, the heathen origin of the Jewish rites and ceremonies, generally including those which were employed in the burial of the dead. ‡ We shall not, therefore, protract this article by any particular account of these.

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* In urbe ne sepelito, neve urito.— Cic. de Leg. II.

† See Kirchman, 225, and Bingham's Origines Ecclesiasticæ, Book XXIII. c. I. p. 420.

‡ See Johannis Spenceri, S. T. D. etc. De Legibus Hœbræorum Ritualibus earumque Rationibus. Ed. Christoph. Matthæi Pfeffii. Tubin: 1732. Lib. IV. cap. IX.

Such was the care bestowed on this important subject in heathen and Jewish antiquity, and such were the forms in which it was manifested. After the introduction of Christianity, these forms were materially changed. Indeed, the early Fathers and Confessors of the Church seem to have thought that everything regarding these, as well as other ceremonies, was *pro*-Christian in the same degree that it was *anti*-pagan. The attention, moreover, which was paid both to the dying and the dead, was not only marked by those natural expressions of tenderness which are common to all nations, but by some peculiar tokens of that Christian love which is the "fulfilling of the law," and of that hope which looks beyond the grave. The final wishes, counsels, exhortations, and prayers of the dying were religiously treasured up; their requests concerning the disposal of their property were carefully observed; they were attended by the different orders of their clergy, who administered every possible solace and support; prayers were offered for them in the churches; the sign of the cross was administered to them; and friends and relatives gathered around to give and receive the last expressions of endearment.

It has already been mentioned, that the practice of cremation or burning gradually died out nearly at the time of the two Antonines, and probably through the influence of the Christian Fathers. It is certain it was always held in abhorrence by the early Christians,* "who retained," as one of their apologists said, "the ancient custom of inhumation as more eligible and commodious." The practice, however, of embalming was in the first ages of the church, by no means uncommon. This was probably suggested by the usage of the Jews, and particularly by what is said in the Gospels of the burial of Christ, since it was hence esteemed a mark of honor. There was another obvious reason for it, and this was the fact, that they were often obliged to assemble for religious worship in their places of sepulture. It was observed also, in token of their faith in the future resurrection of the body, in its incorruptible state. They differed from the ancient heathens in respect to the time of burial, since they preferred, in all cases when it was practicable, to perform this service by day, and not, as the

* See Bingham, above referred to, of whose learned and intelligent labors we shall freely avail ourselves, in this part of the subject, without a more particular acknowledgment.

latter did, by night.* The use, however, of lighted tapers or torches was continued. The Eucharist was frequently solemnized at their funerals. They observed the practice, common to most nations, of closing the eyes of the dying, but did not open them again as the Romans did, since this, with them, was a symbol of the peaceful slumber of the departed until the last trump should wake them. They omitted the "conclamations," practised by the Romans; and instead of exposing the dead bodies at the porches of their houses, they placed them in the interior of their dwellings, or in the church. They appointed, in the true spirit of their faith, an order of men, who bore a semi-clerical character, whose especial business it was to attend upon the sick poor, and give them a decent burial when dead. These were called "Parabolani," from the circumstance of their exposing their lives amidst contagious disease. In the time of Constantine, and as is supposed, through his influence, a class of persons was appointed, called "Copiatæ," who performed offices similar to those of the "Libitanarii" and "Vespillones," above mentioned. The office of Sextons was held in high esteem. They substituted in the place of the doggrel Nœnia of the Roman Præficæ, and of the pipers and trumpeters, anthems and sacred hymns, which were conceived in a tone of triumph, rather than of mourning. "What mean our hymns?" says Chrysostom. "Do we not glorify God that hath crowned the departed, and set him free from all fear?" They used coffins, and in this respect observed the custom of the heathens, and departed from that of the Jews, who merely wrapped the body in grave-clothes. They placed branches of laurel, ivy, and other evergreen plants under the head of the corpse, when deposited in the sarcophagus, in token that death was not the end of life,† and in contradistinction to the practice of the Greeks and Romans, who employed, for a similar purpose, the cypress, which, for the reason above stated, was an emblem of utter death. But the practice of these nations, of crowning the corpse with garlands, they rejected as idolatrous. Tertullian, with no great wisdom,

* The early Christians were obliged to resort to burial by night, to avoid persecution and insult. The same practice prevails still in Italy, and in papal countries generally. The English royal family always observes the custom of burial in the night time.

† Ex Ritualibus Durandi, quoted by Quenstedius, cap. v.

urges this objection; and Minucius argued against it with singular inaptness, when he said, that "if the dead be happy he needs no flowers, and if he be miserable they cannot please him." * They rejected, altogether, the repetition of the mourning ceremonies on the third, seventh, and ninth day, above referred to, as well as all offerings of milk, wine, and flowers; and in fine, substituted for all other offerings and ceremonies, solemn religious rites, prayers, and alms-deeds. Before the establishment of convents, says Weever, "men and women, though of equall degree and qualitie, were borne in a different manner to their graves. Man was borne upon men's shoulders to signifie his dignitie and superioritie to his wife; and woman at the armes end, to signifie, that being inferior to man in her life time, she should not be equalled with him at her death. Which continued for a long time, until women, by renouncing the world, and living monasticall religious lives, got such an honorable esteeme in the world, that they were thought no less worthie of honour in that kinde than men." Instead of the images, insignia, and trophies, which were borne before the bier in heathen funerals, the early Christians carried a cross, and, sometimes, branches of palm. Church bells, which are said to have been first introduced by Paulinus, bishop of Nola, (from whom was derived the modern Latin term (*nola*) for bell,) were first tolled † at funerals in the eighth century. The corpses were placed in the grave in the posture of repose, and always facing the east.‡ Professing, as the early Fathers of the Church did, to regard death as a release from toil and suffering, and as being, therefore, rather a joyful than painful event, they discountenanced all excessive grief and mourning for the dead. Augustine severely censured the custom, derived from the Romans, of wearing black. It was, however, always employed as a sign of grief in the Greek Church, and its use afterwards became general. No particular period of

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* "Cum et beatus non egeat, et miser non gaudeat."

† This is plain from inscriptions on bells. This is one:

"Laudo Deum verum; plebem voco; congresso clerum;
Defunctos ploro; nimbum fugo; festaque honoro."

‡ The reasons for this were, "Christiani solent sepelire: 1. *Supinos*, quia mors nostra proprie non est mors, sed brevis quidam somnus; 2. *Vultu ad cœlum converso*, quia solum in cœlo spes nostra fundata est; 3. *Versus orientem*, argumento sperandæ et exoptandæ resurrectionis." Quenstedt, De Sepult. Vet.

mourning was prescribed. It was left to custom, and to the feelings of survivors. Prayers for the dead were offered in the early ages of the Church, since Tertullian, who died A. D. 220, speaks of them as customary in his time; and the practice of offering them lasted to the period of the Reformation. In other respects, the funeral rites were so similar to those which have since prevailed in Christendom, that we need not dwell longer upon them. We pass them by, moreover, thus summarily, that we may advert to a subject which now more immediately concerns us. This is, the *places* which have been used by Christians of earlier and later times for the burial of the dead.

That the Christians, in their very first origin, appropriated peculiar spots to this purpose, is evident, from the fact, that such places, in times of persecution, were used, "in silence and in fear," for their public religious services. These were called by the beautiful appellation, Κοιμητηρια, *Cæmeteria*, Dormitories, Places of Repose, because they regarded death but as a sleep, and the grave but as a quiet resting place, until the morning of the Resurrection.* They were called, also, *Arcæ Sepultorum*, and *Cryptæ*, and *Arenaria*, because they were often subterranean crypts or vaults, dug out of the sand. These terms were used indiscriminately for burying places and places of public religious worship. These caves were commonly excavated at the foot of a hill, the entrance was carefully concealed, and they were rendered accessible by means of a ladder. They were sometimes of vast extent; and the depth so great, that two or three stories were placed one above another; and the whole aspect of them resembled a subterranean city. The early Christians were hence called by their contemporaries, a "light-hating people." This habitual familiarity with the dead is supposed to be one cause of their well known insensibility to death; and, taken in connexion with their vivid and realizing faith, led them to covet, rather than to shun, the thorny crown of martyrdom. But it is a mistake to infer from this, as has been done, that it was the custom of the early Christians to bury the dead in churches. On the contrary, this

* Chrysostom, tom. lxxxi. St. Paul expresses the same thought, when he compares the buried body to the seed sown. The Hebrews called their burial places "houses of the living," and the Germans denominated them Gottes-acher, or God's harvest-field.

was expressly forbidden; and the true state of the fact is, that they did not bury in places of worship, but worshipped in places of burial. That burial in churches was prohibited by the Roman Emperors, down to as late a period as the year A. D. 300, has already been stated; and the early Christians were not a class of men to break public laws gratuitously, or where conscience was not concerned. The fact, however, is plain, from accounts that St. Jerome gives of his visits to the sepulchres of the apostles and martyrs, when he was a school-boy at Rome; and the testimony of Baronius, and of that ancient writer who takes the name of St. Chrysostom,* is to the same effect. When the Emperors and the laws became Christian, the prohibition against burying in cities remained in full force; and when an attempt was made in Constantinople to evade it, by burying in churches, under pretence that this was not prohibited, it was reinforced by Theodosius, and all burying within churches was also prohibited, under heavy penalties, both of ashes and relics kept in urns above-ground, and of bodies laid in coffins. They were all required to be carried and deposited without the city, and the same reasons relating to the public morals and the public health assigned, as has been stated above. In the fourth century an especial honor was paid to the memory of the Martyrs, by erecting churches over the places where their remains had been buried, or by carrying these remains to the churches within the city. This seemed to have first suggested the practice of burying in churches, but this distinction was for a long time confined to these relics. Constantine had desired to be buried *near* the apostles, to whose honor he had erected a church. This was literally complied with. He was buried, not *within* the church, as is commonly asserted, but "near" it, that is, in the Atrium, or porch of the church. "His son," says St. Chrysostom,† "thought he did his father great honor to bury him in the Fisherman's Porch. And what porters are to Emperors in their own palaces, the same are the Emperors to the Fishermen in their graves." From the death of Constantine, in the beginning of the fourth century, to the commencement of the

* "Consider," says St. Chrysostom, (arguing with sinners, whom he regarded as no better than graves and sepulchres, as being dead in trespasses and sins,) "that no grave is allowed to be made in the city; therefore, neither canst thou appear in the city that is above."

† Hom. lx. in 2 Cor.

sixth, the privilege first awarded to his remains, that of being buried in the *porch* of the church, was in like manner, in especial instances, granted to kings and emperors. In the beginning of the sixth century, the people, generally, seem to have been admitted to the same privilege of being buried in the Atrium, or church-yard, but were still excluded from the church itself. Between the sixth and tenth centuries, this latter privilege was granted, by special laws, to certain kings, bishops, founders of churches, and other eminent persons. From the last named period to the Decree of Pope Leo III., which is preserved by Gregory IX. in his Decretals, about the year A. D. 1230, the privilege, as it was considered, of being buried *within* the church itself, seems to have been left to be awarded according to the discretion of the bishops and presbyters of the church. From the period of these Decretals, the ruin of the old laws, according to Bingham,* is to be dated, since "they took away that little power that was left in the hands of bishops, to let people bury in the church or not, as they should judge proper in their discretion, and put the right and possession of burying places into the hands of private families. And those who had no such right, being led by their ambition, or superstition, could easily purchase a right to be buried in the church, which was a thing that emperors themselves did not pretend to ask in former ages." In confirmation of the above, we quote a passage from Willis's Reports, to which we are indebted for a sensible essay, published in this country.† "When Popery," says the learned Justice Abney, "grew to its height, and blind superstition had weakened and enervated the laity, and emboldened the clergy to pillage the laity, then, in the time of Pope Gregory the First, and soon after, other canons were made, that bishops, abbots, priests, and faithful laymen, were permitted the honor of burial in the church itself, and all other parishioners in the church-yard, on a pretence, that their relations and friends, on a frequent view of their sepulchres, would be moved to pray for the good of their departed souls. And as the parish priest was, by the canon law, sole judge of the merits of the dead, and the fitness of burial in the church, and alone could determine who was a faithful layman, they only were judged faithful, whose executor

* Antiq. Ch. Ch. B. xxiii. c. 1.

† "Hints on the subject of Interments within the city of Philadelphia." Philadelphia: 1838.

came up to the price of the priest; and they only were allowed burial in the church, and the poorer sort were buried in the churchyard." Dr. Rees confirms the above, and adds that to this superstition, and the profit arising from it, we may ascribe the origin of churchyards. The practice of the Romish church, as introduced by Gregory, was carried to England by Cuthbert, Archbishop of Canterbury, about the year A. D. 750; and the practice of erecting vaults in churches, and under altars, was begun by Lanfrac, Archbishop of Canterbury, about the year A. D. 1075.

We have thus endeavored to condense into as few words as possible, what we suppose to be, substantially and truly, the whole history of this subject. It appears that from the foundation of the city of Rome, until the beginning of the fourth century of the Christian era, a period of more than a thousand years, no burials whatsoever were permitted within the city, and still less within any temple or church. That it was permitted to Constantine, about the year of our Lord 300, to be buried "near" a church, that is, in the Atrium, or porch; and that in the subsequent part of the fourth, and during the course of the fifth century, the privilege, so called, was granted, sparingly, to some distinguished persons. That in the sixth century, the practice began of admitting the people to burial in the churchyard, but not in the church; and also of allowing some particularly eminent or favored persons to be buried within the church. That from this period to the thirteenth century, the subject of similar admissions was left to the discretion of the clergy, who made of them a profitable but most disgraceful use. And that, from the last mentioned period to the present, sepulture within churches and churchyards, which had been granted as a boon by the clergy to the laity, has been claimed as a right.

But whatever may be the history of this practice, it is, to the last degree, exceptionable. We respond entirely to the sentiment of the learned *Rivet*, as quoted by Bingham, in connexion with this subject. "This custom," says he, "which covetousness and superstition first brought in, I wish it were abolished, with other relics of superstition among us; and that the ancient custom was revived, to have public burying-places in the *free and open field, without the gates of cities.* This would be more convenient for civil uses also. Because, in close places, they cannot but be affected with the nauseous

smell of dead bodies. There is no good done by it to the dead, and the living are in manifest danger by it, especially in the time of contagious distempers, when infected bodies are promiscuously buried in churches, [and he might add cities, for the same reason,] wherein men daily meet and assemble together; a thing," he adds, "which, not without reason, has ever appeared horrible to me, and to many others." We have no desire to refer again to this revolting subject, and shall advert to no more of those disgusting and horrible details, which abound in the authentic statistics* which have been published in respect to it. We give a single extract from the "*Dictionaire des Sciences Medicale*," a work conducted by eminent surgeons and physicians in Paris, and which expresses, we believe, the uniform sentiments of the whole profession, there and elsewhere. "It is, at this day, well known, and has been satisfactorily demonstrated, *that burials in cities greatly endanger the public health*; that the miasmata disengaged from burying places, may, and often have, caused frightful catastrophes; and that they not only give more virulence to prevailing maladies, but also originate contagious diseases, whose ravages have been terrible."

This obvious fact, taken in connexion with the strong and ever-recurring necessity, in cities and large towns, of providing suitable burial for the dead, to say nothing of higher moral and religious considerations, has led, in different countries and times, to the establishment of cemeteries, at a distance from the abodes of the living. This practice, which has, of late, been happily renewed in this country and in Europe, dates back at least to the time of Abraham, who bought the "field of Ephron," for this purpose. The body of Joseph was buried in a plat of ground in Shechem.† Moses was buried in a valley of Moab; Eleazer on a "hill that pertained to Phinehas;" and Manasseh "in the garden of Uzza;" and the same practice continued down to the last period of the national existence of the Jews; since we find that the tomb of Joseph of Arimathea, which became the temporary sepulchre of our Saviour, was near Golgotha; those who are said to have arisen from the dead, at the

* See, as a specimen, the pamphlet already alluded to, entitled "Hints on the Subject of Interments," particularly pp. 16, 17.

† Sychar, of the New Testament, a city of Samaria, where was that well of Jacob, at which our Saviour held his memorable conversation with the woman of Samaria.

crucifixion, *returned* to the city; and the demoniac, who broke his chains, is described as having *fled to the desert, and dwelt among tombs.* The Egyptians, as we have seen, placed their thronged "cities of the dead" without the borders of the cities of the living. While some of the Grecians permitted, at least occasionally, burials within cities, the Athenians disallowed the practice altogether. The Ceramicus was a public cemetery, situated on the road to Thria, and it was here that all their distinguished men were buried. Within the confines of this the academy of Plato was situated, with its garden and gymnasium, and the river Cephisus; and, according to Plato, the tomb of Ariadne was in the Arethusian Groves of Crete. The sepulchres and monuments of the Corinthians were among groves of cypresses. On the now deserted coast of Karamania, are still to be seen the remains of funeral monuments, which were placed in the environs of the once splendid cities of Asia Minor. The practice of the Romans, through the whole course of their history, was the same, and that also of the early Christians. The ancient Germans buried their dead in groves consecrated by religious services. The Eastern nations, and particularly the Turks, have always been distinguished for their reverential care of their places of interment. Viewing death with no terror or gloom, they endeavor to divest the grave of all sad and revolting associations, by surrounding it with every local charm, and by making it a place of common and delightful resort. It is made a part of their religion to plant, at the head and foot of each grave, a cypress tree; and thus, in the course of time, their cemeteries are converted into dense and shady groves. The burial place of Scutari is said to be the most delightful spot in the vicinity of Constantinople; "and probably," says a lively and observant traveller,* "the world cannot produce such another, as regards extent or pictoral effect." The great Turkish burial ground, just outside of the wall of Jerusalem, near St. Steven's Gate, is the favorite place of promenading for the whole Turkish population in that city. It is adorned with trees and flowers in a high state of cultivation; and is regularly visited once a week, and, as a matter of religious observance, every holiday.† The Afghans call their cemeteries the "cities of the silent," and hang garlands on the

* Miss Pardoe.
† Incidents of Travel, Vol. II.

tombs of the departed, under the impression that their ghosts, each seated at the head of his own grave, enjoy their fragrance. The churchyards in the reductions of Paraguay were so many gardens. The Moravian Brethren have long been in the habit of converting their burial places into haunts of rural loveliness; and they are beautifully designated by them as the "Fields of Peace." The tombs of the Chinese are always erected out of their cities. In Denmark, Venice, Prague, Vienna, and in many other places in continental Europe; in Lima, in South America; in Port au Prince; in the Island of Ceylon; in Greenland; the practice of interring the dead within cities is prohibited. Even the Hottentots and North American Indians remove them away from the abodes of the living. The same practice has, of late years, been adopted and enforced in France. At the commencement of the present century, the burial places within the limits of the city of Paris were closed by order of the government; and in the vicinity, but without the confines of the crowded population, four cemeteries, as above stated, have been established. In England, since the year 1832, the attention of the public has been called to this subject; and in the neighborhood of London, no less than four cemeteries have been set apart, and elaborately arranged and ornamented. Those at Kensal Green and Highgate are on the North and Northwest, that of Norwood is on the South, that of Westminster is on the West, and that of Abney Park is on the East side of the city. The last of these, according to Mr. Collison, is beautiful, admirably adapted to the purpose, and is rich in historical recollections.* It possesses, moreover, the great advantage of being *free from Episcopal consecration*, the effect of which is to prevent the clergy of other denominations from performing a burial service within the consecrated ground, and a dissenter from being buried in the same place with his nearest relation and friend, if the latter should happen to belong to the Established Church. It further recognises no right in the incumbent of any parish to

* "In the village of Stoke-Newington, in which this Cemetery is situated, several distinguished persons have resided. Among these may be mentioned, Daniel Defoe, General Fleetwood, Thomas Day, (author of Sandford and Merton,) John Howard, (the Philanthropist,) Dr. Aiken, and his sister, Mrs. Barbauld. Dr. Isaac Watts passed the greater part of his life on that estate which is now converted to the Cemetery, and wrote there the greater part of his works." — Collison.

demand funeral fees, when a dead body is removed for funeral, out of the precincts of said parish; an assumption which is elsewhere made and enforced. In fine, the "projectors of Abney Park Cemetery determined, that it should be placed upon the broad, liberal principles of being alike open to all." We are happy to add, that the success of this establishment has answered to the enlightened principles on which it has been conducted. In addition to the above, there are two cemeteries at Liverpool. One is called the "Necropolis," in a suburb of the town, conveniently situated, but is of narrow extent. It has never been consecrated, and pays no fees to parochial clergy; and, on these accounts particularly, it has proved a successful enterprise.* The other cemetery occupies the site of an ancient quarry. It is, however, badly situated, being in the midst of the city; and must, therefore, whatever be its outward adornments, ultimately prove, if occupied as its founders intend and expect, one vast plague spot to the surrounding inhabitants.

In this country, a strong and commendable interest in regard to rural cemeteries has recently been awakened. The successful establishment of that of Mount Auburn seems to have been the proximate cause of this. A general feeling, indeed, of the need of some appropriate resting-place for the remains of departed friends, has long prevailed with many intelligent persons, in different parts of the country; but it found no fitting expression until it found it here. The choice and general arrangement of the grounds were, in the highest degree, felicitous. The spot itself is singularly suggestive of those trains of thought and feeling that belong to the Place of Graves; and when its native loveliness was revealed by the hand of taste; when it was yet further illustrated, but not encumbered, by the structures and ornaments that affection reared; when, especially, it was hallowed by the relics of the dead; it became a resort peculiarly sacred to solemn musings and tender recollections. It was then felt to be one, where a deep want of the soul, that had long been strongly felt, was, for the first time, fully met and supplied. It was soon followed, in consequence, by others in various parts of our broad land. Rural cemeteries are already established in Salem, Worcester, Springfield, Lowell,

* More than eighteen thousand bodies have been deposited there since its establishment fifteen years ago.

Plymouth, and in other of the large towns in this State; in Nashua, and Portsmouth, in New Hampshire; in the States of Maryland, Pennsylvania, and New York; while an increased and constantly increasing attention is bestowed on repairing and ornamenting the old graveyards in various sections of the country.

If we had not already exceeded the limits that may be thought proper to a paper like this, we should offer some thoughts, which seem to us just and timely, on the Forms of Burial; on Funereal Structures; (particularly reprobating tombs or vaults, as an offence and an annoyance,) on the Emblems and Symbols usually found on sepulchral monuments; on Inscriptions and Epitaphs; (on all which subjects there is much need of improvement,) and, especially, would we call public attention to the necessity, which seems not yet to be recognised amongst us, as it is abroad, of chapels in our cemeteries, where the last religious rites may be performed. But we must dismiss all these topics with this general reference, and only add, that we regard the establishment of these rural burying-places as one of the happy signs of the times. They are due to the dead. They are consolatory to the living. They are fraught with moral and religious uses, which no good man will willingly forego. They afford a retreat from the conflicting interests, and false and frivolous shows of ordinary life, where our violent and wicked strifes on religious and political subjects may, for a while, be checked; where that all-absorbing lust of gain, which is eating, canker-like, into the very heart of the people, may find a temporary sedative; and where, in a word, thoughtful persons may go, in silence and in peace, and amidst propitious influences of earth and sky, and with all the suggestive tokens of the departed around them, to think of their highest aims, and their ultimate responsibilities; and to consider how solemn a thing it is to live in a world like this, to die out of it, and to enter on the unseen realities of an eternal state.

J. B.

ART. II.—*Lectures on Spiritual Christianity.* By ISAAC TAYLOR, Author of "Physical Theory of Another Life," "Natural History of Enthusiasm," "Home Education," etc. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1841.

IN his "Natural History of Enthusiasm," Mr. Taylor made his first appearance before the public, and became at once very conspicuous, not only by the originality and power displayed in that work, but also by the annunciation of his purpose of describing, in its various forms, the fictitious piety that has corrupted the Christian church. He proposed to follow the Natural History of Enthusiasm with successive works on Fanaticism, Superstition, and its attendant Credulity, Spiritual Despotism, Corruption of Morals, and Skepticism. As yet he has not completed his plan, but has only put forth "Fanaticism and Spiritual Despotism." Meanwhile he turned his mind to more attractive themes, and gave us his "Physical Theory of Another Life," and his "Home Education." Lately he has virtually, although not formally, resumed his former plan; and in his treatise on Ancient Christianity, and his recent Lectures on Spiritual Christianity, he has battled against what he deems to be some of the forms of spurious or corrupted religion.

Although his style is very far from being attractive, Mr. Taylor is always an interesting and instructive writer. His personal position, as well as the relation he sustains to the great theological parties of his country and the age, cannot fail to win for him the respect and attention of candid and thoughtful minds. His devotion to spiritual studies does not spring from the necessary demands of his profession, but from pure love for them. As we understand it, he was bred to the law; and he presents the not very common example of a lawyer and a layman consecrating his time and talents to theological pursuits. Thus, from his personal position, he has a high claim upon our respect, both as to his motives and resources. Loving theology for its own sake, he brings into its service a practical sense and varied knowledge, which have not been the most common gifts of theologians.

The relation, which Mr. Taylor sustains to the leading religious interests of the da , is highly significant. By birth and education a Dissenter, and the son of a staunch Nonconformist clergyman, he inherited his father's zeal, but not the patrimony

of his ecclesiastical opinions. His tastes were too refined to give him delight in the stern manners and meagre ritual of his father's communion. He went over to the Episcopal Church, and thus presents an example of a tendency, which is said by some to be quite prevalent among the Puritan race, to return from Congregational independence to Episcopal authority. At the same time, he is a sturdy champion of what he deems the evangelical freedom of true Episcopacy; and shows himself, in his two last works, an unsparing antagonist of the despotic system maintained by the Oxford theologians. After speaking of the book before us, we will say a few words of Mr. Taylor, in reference to his position between the faith of his fathers and that of the Oxfordites, — his middle ground between Congregationalism and ultra Episcopacy.

The Lectures on Spiritual Christianity are four in number. They were delivered at the instance of the Committee of the "London City Mission." They were not intended for a systematic digest of theology, nor for a formal biblical argument; but were projected with the hope of "directing the attention of well-educated persons to the great principles of the Gospel; and especially as put in jeopardy by the wide diffusion of opinions, which would substitute the 'vain inventions' of antiquity for the purity and simplicity of apostolic Christianity."

The first lecture treats of the Exterior Characteristics of Spiritual Christianity. It maintains that Christianity is a religion of facts; of facts with which all men, without exception and without distinction, and in an equal degree, are personally concerned; that, as a religion of facts, it induces a new relationship between man and his Maker; that these facts, when admitted as true, are of a kind to excite, and to maintain in activity, the warmest and the most profound emotions of which men are susceptible, according to the individual constitution of their minds. The most striking passage in this Lecture is an illustration of the historical truth of the gospels, drawn from the wonderful beauty and sublimity of our Lord's life and teachings, and from the indissoluble connexion between the exalted morality of the Gospel and the truth of the facts of the Gospel. This point, however, has been so much elaborated by writers of our own faith, that we cannot thank Mr. Taylor for any new light upon it.

The second Lecture treats of the truths peculiar to Spiritual Christianity, and is by far the most important of the course, as

showing the views of a wise, candid, and devout man upon the essentials of Christian faith. The author states, in the outset, that he does not intend to include, in his view of the truths peculiar to Spiritual Christianity, those truths which it shares in common with natural theology, or with what he regards as a mutilated Christianity. He also sets off from his enumeration certain articles of belief, clearly attested, indeed, as he thinks, by Christ and the apostles, but which are not properly elements of the Gospel; such, for instance, as the doctrine of human depravity, and of future punishment. Moreover, he startles us with the assertion, that orthodoxy itself, although essential to Christianity, is yet of itself not Christianity, since it has been found so often to consist with corruptions of religion. Maintaining a trinitarian faith to be the basis of Christian piety, he yet makes the following important admissions: —

"Orthodoxy *alone* is not, we say, Christianity, for it has consisted with the widest departures from its purport. More than a little constancy of faith and strength of mind are demanded in travelling over the road of the trinitarian controversy, from the early years of the third century, onward, toward modern times; and if our belief have not previously been firmly grounded upon the proper biblical evidence, it is probable that the perusal of this history will breed doubt, disgust, suspicion; and will end in a heterodox conclusion.

"The Greek mind, which had relinquished none of the faults of a better age, and which retained few of its admirable qualities, and which had been schooled in nugatory disputation by a degenerate philosophy, a sophistical logic, and a spurious rhetoric, found its field in the trinitarian argument. Ponderous tomes have brought this argument down to our times; but how much of the warm apostolic feeling do these books present to our view? Something indeed; but not more in proportion to the mass, than there are grains of the precious metal to be gathered from a mud bank, in the offing of a gold coast.

"Orthodoxy, very early severed from evangelical truth, showed at once what was its quality, when so divorced. Some time before the breaking out of the trinitarian controversy, a discipline and course of life directly contravening the first principle of the Gospel had received the almost unanimous homage of the church, throughout the world, and was applauded, on all sides, as the highest style of Christian piety.

"What moral influence was orthodoxy likely to exert, when it fell into the hands of those who had overlooked, or who virtually denied, the truths which alone can bring it home to the

heart? The Saviour, forgotten as "the end of the law, for righteousness, to every one that believeth," was soon forgotten also as the "one Mediator between God and man." Most instructive is the fact, that, at the very moment when trinitarian doctrine was the most hotly contended for, and punctiliously professed, mediators many, and gods many, and goddesses many were receiving, under the auspices, and by the encouragement of the great preachers, theologians, and bishops of the time, the fervent devotions of the multitude! It was to these potent intercessors that sincere petitions were addressed; while to the Trinity was offered — a doxology! Whenever men were in real trouble, and when they needed and heartily desired help from above, they sought it, where they believed they should the soonest find it — at the shrines of the martyrs, or of the Virgin. No fact of church history carries a heavier lesson than that which we gather when, listening to the perorations of the great preachers of the age of orthodoxy, we hear them, first invoking, with animation, and high sounding phrases, a saint in the heavens, while the finger pointed to his glittering shrine: and then ascribing "honor and glory" to the Trinity!

"Orthodoxy, by itself, does not touch the conscience, does not quicken the affections; it does not connect itself, in any manner, with the moral faculties. It is not a religion, but a theory; and inasmuch as it awakens no spiritual feelings, it consists easily with either the grossest absurdities, or with the grossest corruptions.

"Orthodoxy, powerless when alone, becomes even efficient for evil at the moment when it combines itself with asceticism, superstition, and hierarchical ambition. What is the religious history of Europe, through a long course of time, but a narrative of the horrors and the immoralities that have sprung from this very combination?

"Heterodoxy, which has long been the temptation of the continental protestant churches, has at length wrought their ruin; — or, at the best, has left them in an expiring condition. But in perfect equity must it not be acknowledged that orthodoxy, severed from evangelic truth, has been the temptation of England; and that, at this moment, by reviving its ancient connexion with superstition, it gives just alarm to the true sons of the reformers?" — pp. 98 – 101.

Further, setting aside from his enumeration some points of belief, which have been subjects of dispute among the adherents of what he calls evangelical piety, Mr. Taylor places first in order and magnitude, among the truths peculiar to Spiritual

Christianity, the doctrine of the propitiation effected by the Son of God, so held as to sustain the consequent doctrine of the full and absolute restoration of guilty man to the favor of God, on his acceptance of this method of mercy; or, as it is technically phrased, "Justification through faith." He maintains that this doctrine rests upon two mysteries, — the incarnation, and the atonement, — two incomprehensible mysteries; yet that the doctrine of justification through faith is far from being incomprehensible, but "turns upon the well understood relations of a forensic substitution, which are among the clearest with which we have to do."

That we may not misrepresent our author's view of the office of the sacrifice of Christ, we will refer to his own words: —

"In the justification of man through the mediation of Christ, man individually, as guilty, and his Divine Sponsor, *personally competent to take upon himself such a part*, stand forward in the Court of Heaven; there to be severally dealt with as the honor of Law shall demand; and if the representative of the guilty be indeed thus qualified, in the eye of the law, and if the guilty, on his part, freely accept this mode of satisfaction, then, when the one recedes from the position of danger, and the other steps into it, Justice, having already admitted both the competency of the substitute, and the sufficiency of the substitution, is itself silent.

"Such a transaction does indeed originate in grace or favor; but yet if it satisfy law, it can be open to no species of after interference. Now in the method of justification through faith, God himself solemnly proclaims that the rectitude of his government is not violated; nor the sanctity of his law compromised. It is He who declares that, in this method, he "may be just while justifying the ungodly." After such a proclamation from Heaven has been made, 'who is he that condemneth? It is God that justifieth!'" — pp. 110, 111.

Of course it is not in place here to enter into an argument upon the doctrine of the Atonement, since Mr. Taylor presupposes the doctrine of the Trinity as the basis of the Atonement; and we are not disposed, at present, to enter upon that subject. But we cannot but question the assertion, that the idea of substitution of the innocent for the guilty, as maintained in the doctrine of vicarious atonement, turns upon well understood relations. No human relation, with which we are acquainted, allows innocence to bear the punishment of guilt; and all at-

tempts to explain a vicarious atonement by analogy entirely fail. If the doctrine is authoritatively revealed in Scripture, let it be regarded as a truth of revelation, and be ranked among incomprehensible mysteries. All attempts to explain the doctrine rationally only serve to make it the more enigmatic.

Mr. Taylor avows that his doctrine of justification by faith in the atonement implies a great mystery; but declares it to be no greater a mystery that guilty man should be delivered from the hands of justice by the personal intervention of his sovereign, than that man, feeble as he is, and frail, should, by the Creator and Sovereign of the universe, be held personally answerable for the acts of so brief a course. He is right, if man, feeble and frail as he is, must be regarded as answerable for not being perfect as an angel, and is to be doomed to endless misery for coming short of heavenly perfection, unless some mediator bear the penalty of his sins. But since we deny this notion, we must deny the analogy between the two mysteries, which our author brings into comparison. We deny that man is to be punished merely for the imperfections of his nature, and are thus ready to deny the doctrine that his wilful guilt is to be atoned for by another's righteousness.

We must confess that the pertinacity and apparent love, with which so many Christians cling to the doctrine of vicarious atonement, have often caused us no small perplexity, and led to no little reflection. We have no doubt that Mr. Taylor heartily believes this doctrine, and regards it as the great essential of Christian faith. He urges it upon us with a sweet earnestness, that is far more effective than all the fierce dogmatism, which is so common with those who undertake to set forth the doctrine. We cannot but believe that evangelical Christians, as they call themselves, have a very important Christian truth wrapped up in their dogma of vicarious atonement and justification through faith. Need we accept their dogma, in order to enjoy the truth? Without regarding Christ as a literal substitute for the sinner, may we not regard him as giving himself an offering of love, as bearing by his sufferings at the hands of man the consequences that man ought to have borne, and as thus giving us a fearful exhibition of the results of human sin, and of the power and tenderness of divine mercy? By his teachings, works, and life, Christ has labored and suffered in our stead; and by the influences he has imparted, new peace and hope have been poured into the souls of the faithful. In

his death, his teachings, works, and life were finally consummated, so that they, who really believe in his death, must also believe in his doctrines, his miracles, and his holiness. They must also believe in his resurrection, and in the eternal life. Moreover, without accepting the doctrine of a literal vicarious atonement, one may believe in a new dispensation of the spirit, as the result of Christ's death and entrance into the spiritual world, — that truth so plainly taught in the Gospel. Without any vicarious atonement, in the technical sense, the believer may find peace of mind by trusting in the pardoning love of God, as revealed in Christ; and may say, with Paul, "Therefore, being justified by faith, we have peace with God through our Lord Jesus Christ; by whom also we have access by faith unto this grace wherein we stand, and rejoice in hope of the glory of God."

Mr. Taylor insists upon his doctrine of justification, not so much in opposition to those who find difficulties in it, as to those who virtually nullify, while professing to accept it; that is, the Romanists and Oxfordites, who, not content with one expiation for sin, put their trust in masses and rites, which aim to reiterate the original sacrifice.

We will say nothing more of this second Lecture, except to mention the two truths peculiar to Spiritual Christianity, which the author ranks with the one already stated: the sovereign and abiding influence of the Holy Spirit in renovating the soul in each instance in which it is renovated; and a cordial reception of justification through faith, and the sovereign indwelling influences of the Holy Spirit, as bringing a settled and affectionate sense of security, or peace and joy in believing, which becomes the spring of holy tempers and virtuous conduct.

The third Lecture is upon the Ethical Characteristics of Spiritual Christianity. The author starts with protesting against that grovelling view of Christian morality, which makes it to consist merely in a set of rules or precepts, and not in living principles of the soul. He maintains that the progress of the spirit of the Gospel, and not the mere prohibition of prevalent evils, is to reform society. He illustrates his position by considering the influence of Christianity in elevating the condition of woman, in rebuking slavery and war; and aims to show that preaching the Gospel, instead of fighting against special evils, is the great engine of social reform. Without denying the success of the efforts to repress the use of intoxicating liquors,

he is unwilling to give them the name of the temperance reform, since these efforts are directed against a special evil, and not against intemperance in its true sense, and moreover involve pleas and pretexts, which common sense rejects. He warns men of the doctrine that it is vain for them to hope to become virtuous, or to control their passions by the sway of the higher nature over the lower. He also condemns the error of teaching the belief that they may become virtuous on some other than the highest principles. The former error he regards as countenancing a sordid expediency, and the latter as bringing high moral truth into contempt, and establishing a heartless conventionality in its place.

Upon Spiritual Christianity, and upon that alone, he takes his stand as the basis of genuine virtue. Its first characteristic, he affirms, consists in the sovereign importance it attaches to Truth, as furnishing the only solid support for the motives of self-government, purity, and charity. Its second characteristic is placed in its *oneness of principles*, or *concentration of motives*. He finds its true centre in the doctrine of justification by faith. Trust in the righteousness of Christ inspires humility, and leads to the true standard of virtue, and the indwelling spirit imparts the genuine motives to virtue. Loyalty to Christ thus constitutes the essence of Christian morality, — to Christ, from whom comes at once the motive to duty, and the idea of all that is beautiful in virtue. Our author declares the great characteristic of the Christian institute to consist in love, not only as a feeling, but also as a principle of communion or visible fellowship. Upon this point, as well as the other points of Christian ethics, he sternly rebukes those who, like the Oxford divines, separate the communion of true Christian believers, and substitute mere rules and rituals for a living gospel obedience.

The fourth and last Lecture is upon Spiritual Christianity as the hope of the World at the present moment. He has no faith in the power of civilization, or general benevolence alone, to redeem the world from its evils; but maintains, that the life-giving doctrine of the Gospel is the only means of renovating the human family; — that this doctrine rebukes the mighty, has promises for the most degraded, and is the great agent for establishing the divine kingdom upon earth. He maintains that the Gospel imparts the strongest motives for helping the temporal and spiritual welfare of others, and inspires an active zeal

equal in intensity to the power of faith. In the third place, the Gospel not only thus gives all men importance as immortal beings, and breathes humanity and compassion, but contains a law of diffusion; a law which is not only a statute of revelation, but an impulse of genuine faith. In the fourth place, Christianity is the great hope of the world, since it is superior to every visible institution; and in the fifth place, because it offers a ground of cordial combination, for all purposes of religious benevolence, among its true adherents. Under this last head, Mr. Taylor speaks with great severity of the exclusiveness of the High Church party of England, in keeping aloof from the religious and philanthropic enterprises of the day; and evinces a catholicity of feeling, which might be well imitated on this side of the Atlantic.

We have now given a hasty outline of these Lectures on Spiritual Christianity. The pleasure of communing with a mind, so rich and pure as the author's, would be sufficient to requite the task. We always make a point of reading all that comes from his pen. But, as hinted at the outset of this article, we have an object in view beside gratification. Mr. Taylor's theological position should give him much interest, not merely as a representative of certain tendencies in the English Church, but also as an index of certain theological movements in our own country.

As educated in the Nonconformist school, and in early life deeply imbued with the spirit and doctrine of the Puritans, Mr. Taylor, by his adoption of Episcopacy, stands as representative of a class of Christians, who have been dissatisfied with the meagre ritual and dangerous liberty of the Dissenting communions, and at once gratified their taste and confirmed their orthodoxy by returning to the liturgy and the government of the Episcopal church. Some of our Episcopal friends predict that all the more devout and elevated Congregationalists will, ere long, be of this class. Some few cases, that have occurred in the strong holds of Congregational freedom, warrant us in speaking of a reaction towards Episcopacy, although they are far from being sufficient to prove any general movement in that direction.

The class of minds, most likely to be charmed with Episcopacy in our community, are not those who are devoted to ecclesiastical studies, and eager to find in the Scriptures and

the Fathers the proofs of the divine origin of the three orders of clergy. They are disposed to look upon the Episcopal church with regard, because it seems so free from the agitation and coarseness of many other communions, and because its rites and liturgy have a beauty and solemnity, which contrast very strongly with the meagreness of congregational service, and with the undignified obtrusiveness of individual peculiarities of the sermons and prayers of some congregational preachers. Not a few, moreover, seem inclined to think that the revival of ecclesiastical ceremony will afford the best rebuke to that irreverential spirit, which is so prevalent at the present day, and promises to eradicate the sentiment of veneration from the minds of the rising generation. These latter persons err greatly in their estimate of human nature, if they expect that the revival of ancient forms will exorcise the rebellious spirit of the age.

"Let us make religion more imposing to the senses," the cry in some quarters is heard; "no wonder that the church is so slightly regarded by the world, since her worship is so shorn of its former glory; and instead of cathedrals, we have plain meeting-houses, — instead of an altar, a reading-desk, — instead of mitred bishops and white-robed priests, we have ministers, who preach and pray with no more stately costume and authoritative commission, than may be possessed by any brother of the communion." A considerable class of contemplative conservatives, in this country, use language akin to this. And there is much beauty in their thoughts and charm in their project. But for this country, it is the charm of fancy and the beauty of a dream. Ideas like these may be very congenial with the venerable halls, where the divines of Oxford commune with the spirits of the ancient, and enjoy the comforts of the modern church; or with the lakes, where ethereal minds, like Wordsworth, spend their days in the luxury of poetic devotion. But with the scenes and characters of our own country, such ideas can have very little affinity. Indeed, nothing could be easily devised more fatal to the popular diffusion of religion in this country, than the attempt to identify it with ancient forms, and to connect it with the stately ceremonials of other lands and ages. Could a cathedral be built in every considerable town, could every state-house be made a Saint Paul's, or York-Minster, — could our national capitol be transformed into a Saint Peter's, and could the English or Roman service be performed

in all its pomp and solemnity, we very much doubt whether religion would gain anything in dignity or diffusion by the change; and are inclined to think that the genius of our people would be offended rather than propitiated by such ceremonials. No. The evils of an age must be cured by means adapted to its peculiar wants, and not borrowed from foreign ages and institutions. The age calls us onward, and its call is the call of God. Instead of going backward, we must advance; instead of retrograding, the age must flow on, if it would work itself free of its impediments. We must not trust to the revival of authoritative power, but must accept the principle of coöperation and fraternal love as the legitimate basis of religious, as well as civil society. Already we have many cheering indications of the competency of this principle to sustain the social fabric.

As for those who look to Episcopacy for uninterrupted quiet, we apprehend that they are to be much mistaken in their expectations. Already the notes of war are heard, and the serene communion of the Church has, in some cases, been sadly disturbed. Mr. Taylor's candid testimony, in the work before us, is a proof of the strife among the Episcopalians of England; and his tone is such as to leave us in some doubt, whether he is happy in having abandoned the way of his fathers. The controversy has extended to this country. Rival bishops are in the field, and antagonist journals say very ungentle things of each other. Bishop McIlvaine, of Ohio, has issued a ponderous octavo against the Oxford heresies and usurpations. Bishop Onderdonk has recommended the Oxford Sermons for the perusal of the people in his diocese. "The Lord Bishop of New Jersey" is not only an admirer of the Oxford divines, but has gone so far in his adulation of English Episcopacy, as to scandalize his best friends. How those of Bishop Doane's former parishioners, who are children of the pilgrim fathers, have relished the Bishop's high compliment to the memory of the Pilgrims, let his own words, in his recent speech in England, before the Coventry Religious and Useful Knowledge Society, declare.

The controversies between the Gambier Observer and the New York Churchman show no remarkable sweetness of temper, nor harmony of faith. An article in the Churchman, on the "Romance of Gambier Theology," gave us sufficient proof, a few months since, that Christian quiet and Christian charity

mean something else than using the same liturgy and belonging to the same church. In a small way, the old schism between the East and West is renewed, and New York and Gambier may be the Rome and Constantinople of our new world.

We take leave of Mr. Taylor with respect for his power and thanks for his services. A spirit like his, in whatever denomination it may be found, is a blessing to the Christian world. We might speak of him in connexion with the state of things in our own immediate community, and urge the need of a kindred class of minds in our own ranks, — men who can be free and philosophical, without merging religion in mystic egotism or empty speculation, and who can respect the Scriptures and the church, without going back to the superstitions of ancient ages. But this topic is too broad, and we must not enter upon it now.

S. O.

ART. III.—*A Winter in the Azores, and a Summer at the Baths of the Furnas.* By JOSEPH BULLAR, M. D., and HENRY BULLAR, of Lincoln's Inn. 2 vols. 8vo. London: John Van Voorst, Paternoster Row. 1841.

THESE very lively and entertaining volumes are by two brothers, one of whom, a physician in large practice in Southampton, was forced to seek a change of climate for his health, and was accompanied by his younger brother, as a needful attendant. The task of describing these interesting islands could hardly have fallen into better hands. Intelligent, observing, full of life and spirits, and very good-natured, these gentlemen seem to have been possessed of the true spirit of travelling; whilst the observations on the climate and its fitness for invalids, coming from one who was at once an invalid and a physician, have of course peculiar value.

The great beauty of the Azores, and their attractions for those who, from any cause, seek a change of climate, are hardly appreciated. Though but a few degrees more south than we are, they yet enjoy a perpetual summer. Without the heat of the tropics, you have here most of the tropical fruits. The palm-tree, the pomegranate, the coffee-tree, the banana, the guava, are to be seen flourishing in the gardens, in the midst of

a profusion and luxuriance of flowers, which, probably, the world cannot equal. It is a perfect greenhouse climate. No scorching heat in summer; no nipping frosts in winter. The plants flourish and "enjoy the air they breathe," the year round. The consequence is, that they attain a prodigious growth. Common greenhouse plants, carried from this country, grow quite out of the acquaintance of their old friends. Verbenas become trees, with trunks as large as a man's arm. Camelias grow into huge masses of foliage, twenty feet high, and nearly as much across; whilst June roses, deceived by the climate, come out in January, and then hasten to repair their mistake in May. Abroad in the fields, there is no pause in the operations of the husbandman. Crop succeeds crop, and often successive crops are growing together. At all seasons, the fields are vocal with birds. The quail whistles all winter long; and on the sheltered side of a hill, in some windy day, the chatter of canary birds, their thousand mingled notes, is absolutely deafening. If one wishes a change of scene, a walk of a few hours will carry him into a mountain atmosphere, sweet with the breath of the wild thyme, and lonely as the desert. Here there is no sound of bird or beast. There is no vegetation, but a low heath and moss, which grow by the way-side, and occasionally in a ravine wild myrtles and other low-growing shrubs. On all sides, the most unscientific eye can see plainly the volcanic formation of the island. From the top, as from an apex, stretch down the huge layers of lava, black and barren; and between lie the valleys, which, widening as you descend, give space below for fertile fields and populous villages. This description, to be sure, applies more particularly to the island of Fayal, though in the main features it is true of the whole group. That island is so exactly of the conical form, that in a walk of four miles around the now exhausted crater, at the top, you may distinctly see the whole circumference of the island, as from the nave of a wheel. Village after village, miles apart, succeed each other as you go on, and it is remarkable how small a margin is under cultivation. It is not possible to conceive of a more beautiful walk than this round the Caldeira of Fayal, — the black, ragged strata of the lava immediately beneath you, — in the distance, cultivated fields and villages, and beyond, the far blue sea; and, stretched over all, the ever-varying ocean sky.

But enough has been said, it may be hoped, to interest our readers in the volumes before us, from which we proceed to

make such extracts as may give an idea of such of the islands as were visited by our travellers; their scenery, manners and customs, curiosities and climate.

Of the nine islands, which compose the group of the Azores, these gentlemen visited six, namely; St. Michael's, Fayal, Pico, St. George's, Corvo, and Flores. Of Terceira, the seat of government, though in many respects well worth visiting, they saw nothing. Few scenes can surpass in beauty the Bay of Angra, the capital of Terceira. The moss-grown fort just at the entrance, the white houses of the city, with a back-ground of mountains, the summits of several of them crowned with ruins, the dark rocks close by blackened by the unceasing beating of the sea against them, altogether form one of those pictures which are seen never to be forgotten.

The Messrs. Bullar arrived at St. Michael's, the largest of the islands, on the 5th December, 1838. They thus describe the coast as they approached it:

"We had left the tame scenery of the South of England, with its 'pale and white-faced shores,' only three weeks ago, when this morning a wall of lofty mountains, rising abruptly from the ocean, seamed with ravines, glens, and gullies, variegated with bright lights and the shadows of heavy clouds brooding on their tops, enlivened by scattered white houses, by 'a silent waterfall,' tumbling into the sea from a ledge of rocks, and mingling its small white thread with the surf that rolled on the shore, impressed us with an idea of grandeur far above any we had formed of the Island of St. Michael's."

They came to anchor opposite the town of Ponte Delgada, the principal place on the island, containing, as they were informed, about twenty thousand inhabitants. From their description of its appearance, it would seem to be much inferior in beauty of situation either to Angra or to Horta, the capital of Fayal.

"It is built," they say, "close to the sea, in a formal white line, and is backed by numberless small conical hills of bright green, which are scattered behind it with no more regularity than a heap of green molehills on a common. The stiff white houses of the town are edged with black, and, when seen from the roadstead, somewhat resemble long rows of buildings modelled from mourning cards; here and there a slender oblong church-tower, variegated black and white, rises above the dwelling houses. New orange gardens enclosed within broad white

lines of walls, and laid out as formally as fortifications, are seen in one direction; in another, the older plantations clothe the hills with a deep myrtle green, while the western point of the roadstead, and the coast bordering the town, bristle with black rocks."

The next thing was to land, which our readers must not, however, suppose to be any such easy, every-day operation in those ocean islands, as they may have been accustomed to at home. Especially here, at St. Michael's, where there is no bay, the coast is exposed to the full power of the waves, and often it is quite impossible to get on shore at all. But we will let our authors describe their own landing. Suppose them in a boat, manned, as they relate, with nine jabbering boatmen, who were all talking and hallooing at once. The steps which they aim at are within a small basin, and the entrance to this basin at the side. Not far from them the waves are breaking on the rocks with tremendous roar, and the men all screaming at the top of their voices to be heard above it.

"A heavy wave, which had followed us for some distance, and finally broke astern, sweeping clean over our stern sheets, and swilling the bottom of the boat, was a signal to our men to turn her head to the waves, and wait for smoother water, — their long oars being lightly dipped to keep her in proper trim. Every seventh wave, as is well known to those who have landed through surf, is said to be the critical one, after which the water becomes smoother. This our boatmen obviously disregarded, and trusted rather to their well-practised eyes than to a rule of uncertain application. Having waited a due time, our coxswain gave his orders, and we turned about to make a pounce for the entrance. Another sweeping wave came after us, and bore us along like a swing; the men lay on their oars, and as the back-water sucked the boat backwards, pulled with all their vigor; another wave followed; again they lay still, till the backwater returning, a cheer from the steersman urged them to a final effort; with all their heart and strength they once more struggled against and slowly overcame the force of the recoiling sea, and round we came into the basin in gallant style. The thunder of the enormous waves that rolled over us on the rocks, — the roar of breakers behind, — the gurgling of the back-water, — the bubbling of the sea, — the hissing of the froth, — the vociferous cheers of the steersman, stamping out his orders to his men, — the breathless hurry of the boat's crew, pulling for their lives, — their struggle for victory over the power of the

mighty waters, and their exhilarating triumph of success as we turned from the noisy crash outside to the muffled stillness within the basin, was a delicious piece of excitement, such as seemed at the time worth undergoing all the petty annoyances of a stormy passage, for the sake of once enjoying."

Almost the first experience of our travellers, after landing, was a ball, at which they were introduced on the evening of the 7th, by the American Vice-Consul, Mr. Hickling, whose hospitality has become almost world-renowned. A description of this ball may not be uninteresting to such of our readers as may think of visiting the Azores, and as giving a lively picture of the manner of living and the appearance of the Azoreans, we extract it.

"We went at seven, and found the rooms quite full; dancing had commenced. The house, which was one of the largest in the place, resembled externally the hotels in the Faubourg St. Germain. It was built on two sides of a quadrangular court-yard, one end of which was occupied by stables, and the other by a high wall and gateway. In the hall a heap of barefooted servants and link boys, mixed up with liveried men, women, lanterns, and jack-booted postilions, sat and lounged and laughed.

"Two servants waited at the door, and with tapers in their hands ushered each visitor to the gallery outside the ball-room. The suite of rooms was spacious, and the furniture Parisian. So far as the dress and dancing went, I might have fancied myself in an English or French ball-room, and was a little disappointed to see no peculiarity of national costume; and instead of fandangos or boleros, or Spanish or Moorish dances of any kind, to find about forty couples figuring away at the first set of quadrilles, and finishing with a promenade, just as they would have done on English ground!"

Of the ladies we read: "Some would have made pictures, their hair black, glossy, and luxuriant; their eyes full, dark, and 'unfathomable.' They had fine teeth, which their full lips easily disclosed, and were generally of middle height, well proportioned, and rather tending to embonpoint. One custom differed from ours, and showed much kindness of feeling. A group of women servants, with their heads covered with white kerchiefs, were lying upon a part of the staircase, from which they could look at the dancers over the heads of those who stood at the door, and thus they shared in the pleasures of the family."

The next day, December 8, is mentioned as a "pleasant June day, with a mild breeze from the S. W., and a cloudy but not a thick sky." Our travellers were of course much struck by the aspect of the streets, as so different from anything seen in England. "The medley is of all sorts and conditions; priests in scanty black petticoats, with pea-green umbrellas and three-cornered hats; scarlet-capped boatmen, ragged beggars, clamorous fruit-sellers, and noisy water-carriers; a shabby carriage, coëval with the islands, a showy horse and showy rider, with moustachios and brass spurs; English captains in new-tailed coats; a British tar buying oranges and stumbling over hogs,—hogs in great force, larger, longer-legged, and more wiry-haired beasts than with us; asses in abundance, carrying men, and women, and children, and every other kind of burden,—hogs-heads, deal planks, boxes, panniers filled with stone, manure, and vegetables; countrymen with their horned caps; nondescripts in bad hats and boots, and large cloth cloaks fitted for a cold climate; women in dark blue cloaks, with hoods entirely concealing the face, slowly, stiffly, and sedately moving along,—'des manteaux qui marchent.' Now and then, though rarely, the modern innovation of a lady, shawled and bonneted and parasoled, like our own countrywomen, arm-in-arm with her husband."

All visiters to these islands are struck by the politeness of the people to each other, as well as to those who may be considered above them in rank. No two men ever meet without taking off their hats, and usually accompanied with a salutation. In their conversation, they never fail to call each other "Senhor," which is sufficiently ridiculous when addressed by one ragged ass-driver to another. But the most ludicrous instance of it is one mentioned by the Messrs. Bullar, in their first volume, accompanied by a cut, in which the occupants of a gaol are seen taking off their caps to the passers-by, and saluted by them with as much ceremony as the freest in the land. "Imprisonment seems to be neither a disgrace nor a humiliation to them. There is no diminution in the every-day round of salutations; but the 'hat-worship' (as George Fox called it) is observed with unaltered gravity, and the world is quite as much their friend now, and as full of smooth pretence, as when they lived on the honest side of the grate."

One more extract, descriptive of the streets of Ponte Delgada, (which may be taken as a description of a street in any of the cities of the other islands,) and we will be off with our

travellers into the country, whither the reader may by this time be as anxious to escape as they were.

"The basement of the houses is used for shops, storehouses, or stables. The shops are lighted from the door, and have no windows. There is, consequently, none of the gay variety of shop-fronts seen in England, but open doors display counters and shelves of wares inside. The signs for the different trades are hung out of these door-ways. At one door, for instance, you see a dozen strips of printed cottons tied to a small stick, and fluttering like the ribbons on a recruiting sergeant's hat. This tells you, that a linen draper stands ready inside with tape and cottons. Farther on, a small bundle of faggots, a bunch of onions, a few roots of garlick, and two or three candles dangle from another stick, and denote a grocer. A shoemaker's sign is a bunch of leather shreds; and a hatter's is a painted hat. A butcher ties up a bundle of empty sausage skins, or a rude drawing of an ox having his horn sawed off, the saw as large as the man who uses it. Over a milkman's door hangs a crooked red cow, such as may be seen in alleys in London. A green bough of faya, which resembles a branch of arbutus, indicates a wine shop, and by the addition of a sprig of box, you learn that spirits are sold there. Such was the custom in England, when the proverb was made that 'good wine requires no bush.' In other shops, you see a small board suspended from a like stick, with Portuguese words, signifying 'good wine and spirits,' coarsely painted on it. The names of the shopkeepers are not over the doors, as with us."

The town of Ponte Delgada is surrounded by orange gardens, which do not, however, add much charm to the country. One may ride for hours, without any other view than of the high walls, which are built up to protect the trees from the wind. In these volumes we find various particulars concerning the management of the trees and the picking of the fruit, of which the following are the most important. The gardens are not only surrounded by the high walls just mentioned, but the trees are further protected by plantations of the Faya, (a tree very common in these islands, and from which Fayal takes its name,) and other evergreens. The trees themselves, when full grown, are magnificent. The "shape is like that of a shrub springing from the ground with many stems, or with one short stem immediately dividing, and of a clean gray tint." We have known one orange tree to occupy a space of at least forty feet square. The greatest yield of one tree is about twenty-five

thousand oranges. They are propagated by layers, which usually take root at the end of two years. They are then cut off from the parent stem, and are vigorous young trees four feet high. The trees continue to bear fruit till they are a hundred years old, and the fruit of the oldest trees is the most prized. Such fruit has a thin skin, and is free from seeds. The process of raising from seed is seldom, if ever, adopted in the Azores, on account of the slow growth of the trees so raised.

The beauty of an orange tree is in the time of its blossoming, which, in these islands, is from March to May. Then it is indeed superb, with the rich green of its leaves contrasting with the golden fruit and the white flowers. At that season the air is everywhere perfumed with their fragrance.

After remaining a few days at Ponte Delgada, our travellers proceeded farther along the coast to the town of Villa Franca, about fifteen miles, in order that they might be nearer to the famous hot springs of the valley of the Furnas, the great attraction of the island. The journey was made on asses, and occupied about four hours and a half. The scenery on this side is described as very beautiful.

"Sometimes we passed deep glens running down to the sea, whose rocky sides were covered with evergreens, and relieved by the light green leaves of majestic ferns hanging over them, as light and feathery as if placed there in purposed contrast. They were in full beauty, and the moist warmth of the climate encourges their luxuriant growth.

"Now and then figures in perfect harmony with the scenery, enlivened it, — women lightly clothed in white linen, with a water-jar of red pottery on their heads, or peasants riding sideways on asses, or these same animals loaded with branches of wood. Occasionally we passed close to the coast, and looked down on black rocks of the most fantastic shapes, over which the waves were tumbling and roaring, shedding on them their whitest spray. There was no difficulty in imagining that these rocks had once been a fluid, which ran boiling into the sea and was suddenly cooled. The black sands are those same rocks broken small by the sea; and as we passed on, the Atlantic was spreading over them vast carpets of white foam."

From Villa Franca it is about twelve miles, (four hours' ride,) to the valley of the Furnas, for which our travellers set out on the 29th December. "The road for the first two hours wound amongst fields and villages, not far from the coast; we then

began to ascend steep mountain roads, and to cross or wind round ravines of great extent, depth, and beauty, running down to the sea." They afterwards passed through several crater valleys, of which we extract the description.

"These crater valleys differ from common valleys. They are empty-looking, forsaken places, with none of the cheerful furniture of vales, — are generally quite circular, and the surrounding mountains appear to rise out of their flat floors with an unpleasant abruptness. The valley walls of some of them have no apparent opening or inlet, and the appearance of dull seclusion which thus possesses them, almost produces melancholy; but more frequently a piece is broken out of the edge of the basin, the effect of which is to deprive the place of some of its quiet formality. Through such an opening as this our road lay, and by it a noiseless stream ran, partly supplying the lake, — a grey, sullen piece of water, — which nearly filled another solitary, homeless valley, round which the road wound."

Through several such valleys as this they came to the valley of the Furnas, which is about twelve miles in circumference, and surrounded on all sides, as are all these crater villages, by mountains. The next day they visited the hot springs, and as these are the great curiosity of the island, and indeed of the Azores, we shall make no apology for giving the description of them entire.

"As you approach the springs, you see clouds of vapor, in three or four places, rising like peat smoke to a height of twenty or thirty feet, according as the day is warmer or colder, and sometimes stretching away even to the edge of the mountains. At the end of the lane the ground becomes white, and the bank on one side is streaked with yellow and red, is warm to the touch, and smells strongly of sulphur. The spot where the springs flow is a very irregular hill, and the soil, which in some places is loose, and in others of the consistency of pipe-clay, is broken into all kinds of shapes; and where there is no vegetation, is colored glaring white and yellow. The principal caldeira is a sulphurous one. The water comes hissing and boiling out of the ground into a basin about ten feet across, from which it flows through small channels of stone to supply the baths. It bubbles up through a loose bottom of broken rock; and the column of water in the centre, like the small Icelandic Geysers described by Dr. Henderson, is usually three feet high, gradually lessening towards its edges until it merely ripples and undulates on the margin of the basin. Suppose a conglomeration of half

a dozen London New River Company fire plugs, spouting up their water into a large, shallow basin, well furred with white stony matter; and then suppose this huge basin set on some enormous hidden fire, and made to boil at a rapid rate, and you will have as good an idea as I can convey to you of the principal caldeira in this valley. But you will still want the concomitants that give something like sublimity to the boiling caldron of the Furnas. You must possess yourself with a feeling of insecurity, — you must imagine that it is just possible that the crust on which you stand may give way, and divulge the hidden force below; for the ground trembles, and a pumping sound, like that of a powerful engine at a distance far below you, is going on with great regularity of movement, impressing you with the conviction that the ebullition on the surface of the ground is only the result of this pumping, and that the power at work beneath your feet would, if it were not for the vents you see about you, blow up the whole surface on which you stand. So great, indeed, formerly, was the fear of the islanders in general, that at one time none but the natives of the valley came to this place; and it was not until the intelligence and enterprise of the father of the present Vice-Consul of the United States had brought him to the spot, and had thereby gradually weakened the prejudices which the citizens entertained against it, that his example was followed, until at length the Furnas became what it now is, the Baden-Baden of the Island of St. Michael. At a little distance from the principal caldeira is a deep, smoking, circular pit, in the bottom of which you see water boiling furiously; not, as in the other, running over in any quantity, but continually spouting up, and falling back, to be reboiled. This has been but twelve months in visible operation. One day, a long explosion was heard, and on coming to examine what damage had been done, the villagers found this new caldron; its cover had been violently blown off by the pent-up steam.

"Clambering a little further, we came to the entrance of what looked like a deep and dark cave, and from the bottom of this is thrown up and down, without ceasing, boiling mud, of the consistency and color of the creamy scrapings of Piccadilly. The ground is hot; every here and there boiling water and hissing steam ooze up through holes in the clay, like those made by worms on muddy English shores, and you stand in warm vapor, tainted with sulphureted hydrogen gas. There are several little pots always hot, in various places near you. Most of these swallow back their water, or suffer very small quantities to flow over the surface. The iron springs squirt the boiling water through the interstices of rough volcanic stones, covering.

them with a thick coating of bright orange rust; and the sulphur springs pump a milky fluid backwards and forwards, in cups which they have worn in the clayey bed about them, while the others do the same with a thick liquid mud. The sulphur baths are supplied by the larger pond, or caldeira; but, as the water is boiling hot, it is necessary to cool it. For this purpose a branch from the open stone channel, through which the hot water flows from the caldeira to the bath, conducts it to a reservoir, where it is cooled; and another channel from the cooler joins the first near the bath, where both meet and form one; so that, by partially stopping with a stone or a piece of heath the hot or cold stream, the proper heat is as readily obtained as by complicated machinery. This temperate stream runs through the bathing house to the bath, which is filled by blocking up the channel with a wooden slide, and allowing the water to flow through a gap in its side. During the whole time you are bathing, a rapid stream may thus constantly flow in, so as incessantly to renew the bath; a wealth of water which will be found very luxurious. After looking at the caldeiras, we took our bath, and it certainly was never my good fortune before to bathe in an *invigorating* warm bath. It produced a feeling of strength instead of lassitude, and the skin seemed not alone to have been cleansed and rendered most agreeably smooth, but to have been actually renewed. While bathing, our man cooked eggs for us in one of the small boiling springs, and we afterwards went to the iron-spring for a draught. This flows from a stone spout into a hollow stone basin, and then trickles down a bank into a stream below; it has a strong but not disagreeable iron flavor, effervesces slightly, and is extremely grateful and refreshing. The bath and the spring seemed the two things best suited to the outside and inside of man, on first rising from his bed; natural luxuries when in health, natural remedies when sick; — luxuries without after pain, remedies without misery in taking them; — both which would seem to be inseparable from the luxuries and the remedies of our own invention. Most invalids feel that before breakfast existence is burdensome; but this bath and draught of liquid iron were as a breakfast in producing serenity and happiness, and were more than a breakfast in giving warmth and briskness, and a feeling of health, as of the flowing of younger blood through the veins; and instead of destroying the power of making another, they rather increased it many-fold."

Besides these of the Furnas, there are several other hot springs in the Island of St. Michael's. The most remarkable

of these, and the only other used for bathing, are those near Ribeira Grande, about a day's journey from the Furnas, and near the northern coast of the island. These springs also are situated in the exhausted crater of a volcano. The accommodations for bathing are much inferior to those at the Furnas; the waters not unlike. A very amusing account is given of the process of bathing, and of the old man who attends the baths, which, however, we must omit, with many other things we had marked for extraction.

Our travellers, not finding the valley of the Furnas a suitable place for a winter residence, from its elevated situation, soon returned to Villa Franca, where they established themselves for the winter. The water was brought from the hot springs for a daily bath, and though the time required for bringing it was four hours, it reached Villa Franca at a temperature of 100° to 110° Fah., so that they were often obliged to wait for it to cool. The expense for a man and ass to go and come with the water, up and down steep mountains, was about eighteen pence each bath.

The cheapness of everything in these islands is indeed very noticeable. The following is an account of the experience of the Messrs. Bullar in their housekeeping, at Villa Franca.

"Poultry is very abundant; fowls one shilling (the pair,) chickens sixpence, ducks one shilling and sixpence. Bread is twopence a loaf, weighing about a pound; beef and mutton threepence a pound. Eggs, three and four a penny. Milk, twopence a pint. Butter, one shilling a pound. Servants' wages are very low, so are porters', messengers', and any services requiring the mere human strength of arms and legs. We hire a woman-servant to officiate as cook, bed-maker, &c., for four shillings a week. The hire of a man-servant in the house, (who will live upon Indian corn bread,) is eight shillings a month. Fire wood is cheap."

But even this is dear to the living on some of the other islands. On the island of Terceira, the expense of ten days' housekeeping for two persons and a servant, fell short of three dollars; and for this they had the most luxurious living, poultry, eggs, delicious bread and butter, and fruit. The price of a well-grown pair of chickens was but twelve-and-a-half cents, and eggs were three and four cents a dozen. We were credibly informed that persons live there in good style, with town-

house and country-house, servants, and jack-asses, and "all appliances," at the rate of one hundred dollars a year.

There are no inns in these islands, with the exception of two, one in Ponte Delgada, the other in Horta in Fayal; of which the last at least cannot be spoken of in terms of much commendation. The custom is for travellers to borrow a house, where, with some help from the neighbors, and their own resources, they make themselves as comfortable as they can. In illustration of this custom, we extract the following.

"The American Vice-Consul's hospitality is so well known, that visitors, who have need of a resting-place, make use of his house here, in which we are living. It has even sometimes happened that its kind-hearted owner, on coming to it, has found it so full as to be obliged to go elsewhere. Beds are readily hired, and at night are spread on the floor in the rooms, accommodating a large party in a small space. These details may seem petty; but nothing is less trivial, in travellers' stories, than facts illustrating states of society and manners different from their own. England is so covered with inns, that one kind of private hospitality is almost superseded. No one thinks of accommodating a person in his house who is not a friend; he gives him a dinner, but to have his house 'made an inn,' is a proverbial expression for what is considered a disagreeable infliction. It cannot be otherwise, in a country overfilled with people, to whom activity in one form or another seems essential to existence. Some centuries back, Englishmen were as stationary as the Azoreans. We are now richer, and more locomotive; whether happier for the change, is doubtful, except, indeed, to those happily constituted people who never doubt. We are occupying this house, probably, to the inconvenience of many. One man, yesterday, walked in, hung up his coat, and deposited his baggage, with all the quietness of ownership; but we saw no more of him till the next morning, when he removed his goods. The rooms are pleasant, facing the south, and overlooking the ocean, and the waves roll in below among the rocks."

The pleasantest mode of visiting the Azores would undoubtedly be in a yacht, or small vessel, provided with the conveniencies for such desultory house-keeping. The true time for the visit is the midsummer. Then the climate is perfect; the thermometer seldom reaching 80° of Fah. and the heat never oppressive. A voyage amongst these islands, in pleasant company, landing at the interesting points, and enjoying

the scenery, and the delicious fruits, could hardly fail to restore the health. The passage might be made from Boston or New York in ten to fourteen days, and somewhat more home. The baths of the Furnas alone would be worth it. On many diseases they are said to have the most wonderful effects, especially in all rheumatic complaints. Whether they will make the old young, and other such wonders which have been ascribed to them, is more doubtful.

From St. Michael's, the Messrs. Bullar went, on the 15th of April, to Fayal, where they arrived on the third day, though with a fair wind the voyage can easily be accomplished in twenty-four hours. One of the chief objections to visiting these islands, indeed, is the difficulty of passing from one to the other. Unless by some fortunate accident of an American whale ship, or a chance English schooner, the passage must be made in Portuguese vessels, filthy, ill navigated, and hardly seaworthy. They are such mere tubs, and in such bad condition, that they can hardly make any way with a head wind, and have been known to be months getting from one island to another. Our travellers, however, encountered all the evils of the passage with their usual equanimity and good nature, and in the afternoon of the 18th cast anchor in the bay of Horta. This is the chief city of Fayal, containing from 8,000 to 10,000 inhabitants. The whole population of the island is about 25,000. As no census has for a long time been taken, these numbers are only approximations. The beauty of the bay cannot fail to strike every visitor. It is about two miles across and half a mile deep; the extremities being high and very picturesque hills. The city itself is built upon the side of a hill. We extract the description.

"The town of Horta is built close to the shore. A long broad line of chimneyless houses, among which churches, convents, and public buildings are conspicuous, extends the whole breadth of the bay. Beyond this line, the houses which form the outskirts of the city are built amongst orange gardens and evergreens; beyond is the flat conical mountain into which the island rises, which, when we landed, was slightly shadowed by a canopy of clouds, and colored bright by the warm afternoon sun, while in front of the city the water of the bay, which in the afternoon sun was so tender a blue that it almost seemed to have a bloom upon it, rolls up on a sweeping beach of dark grey sand, divided towards the centre by a port and landing steps, which project from the shore on a ridge of lava."

Add to this the peak of Pico on the other side, only five miles distant, rising to a height of 9,000 feet, directly from the sea, and one may have some idea of the beauty of the scene.

One of the great charms of these islands, and one which to be appreciated must be witnessed, is the surf. At all times it is a beautiful object, rolling in lazily on the beach, grinding the sands as it recedes. But when it is at all high, as it always is whenever there is wind, its grandeur is quite beyond description. It frequently breaks twenty feet high upon the beach, with a roar absolutely deafening. Imagine an expanded cataract, perhaps a mile long, curling over as far as the eye can reach, and exhibiting a thousand varying hues in the sunshine, whilst the wind, if it has changed, as is commonly the case, blows from it a crest of white spray. As the vast waves come swelling up, you involuntarily start back. It seems as if they must overwhelm you.

The streets of Horta our travellers found essentially the same with those of the other cities they had visited. In the cottages they observed an air of more comfort than in those at St. Michael's. This is owing in a great measure to the visits of our whaling ships, who resort in great numbers yearly to Fayal, for the purchase of vegetables, and have thus contributed very perceptibly to the prosperity of its inhabitants.

The most conspicuous building in Horta, and one of considerable architectural merit, is the College of the Jesuits. The Jesuits themselves were expelled from the islands many years ago, but the founding of a *College* in this remote island, remains a striking monument of the magnificence of their undertakings, and the spirit which animated all their designs.

The Church connected with this College is very spacious, and it being Whitsunday, they found it filled with people. On this occasion, as often elsewhere, our travellers are led to remark upon the devotion of Catholics, and their apparent absorption in what is going on.

"Why," they ask, "is it that Protestants at devotion are so susceptible of interruption, while Papists are solemn and abstracted? Why does a Roman Catholic girl, telling her beads in her church, seem wrapt in devoutness, while a falling prayer book or a late comer-in disturbs the prayers of a Protestant? Is the Papist more earnest, or is he more mechanical in his worship?"

There are, it is true, exceptions to this rule. We have seen young persons at mass looking about them as unconcernedly as any Protestant; and Priests going through their prayers with their eyes all the time very industriously employed in scanning the strangers who stood beside them. But in the rule and especially with the common people, the fact is as above stated. The reason it is not so easy to give. No doubt there is usually a deeply devotional feeling. But such a feeling does not seem to be necessarily connected with a good life. Certainly not in these islands. It is to be feared that their religion exerts but very little influence upon their lives. The state of morals amongst them is probably as low as in any part of the world. They are, indeed, good humored and civil to each other. Dark crimes are very rare. But as to honesty, truth, chastity, very little is to be said in their favor. They seem, in short, to have no moral principle whatever.

And how can it be otherwise? They have no instruction. Their religion is a mere round of ceremonies. It occupies their whole lives; everything indeed is in some way connected with it, but then there is nothing in it to strengthen the soul, nothing to form the character. The Scriptures are almost unknown to them. Our authors tell us that they never saw a copy in the islands. We heard of but one, and that was given by an American lady to her servants, who listened to it, as read aloud by one of their number, with an enthusiasm amounting to ecstasy. The Priests, who should exert an influence upon them, are themselves far from immaculate. There are, of course, exceptions. One is mentioned in this work, as we shall presently have occasion to quote. The head of the Church in the island of Fayal is a man of singlar purity of character and holiness of life; but in general the clergy of these islands are ignorant and licentious; their office is a mere business, which they put on and off with the dress. It is not at all uncommon for them to have families, and sometimes two or three, with which they live openly! and we have been credibly informed that more than one of them has been known to avow his utter skepticism and infidelity. What can be expected of the people when such are the priests?

The only preaching is at Lent, or on some great local festival. We were present once at an occasion of this last kind. It was the festival of a saint whose image had once been carried out to stop the eruption of a neighboring volcano, and the

eruption had ceased as soon as the procession gained the top of an eminence which commanded a view of it. The speaker described the scene, the state of alarm which preceded the miracle, the danger all with great animation. The people, — and the church was crowded — listened with intense eagerness. When he came to the account of the miracle he paused, and pointing to the image, which was now uncovered, apostrophised it with deep emotion; and it was easy to see the response throughout the crowd. To such preaching, whenever they can have it, the people throng. How would they listen to a real voice! How strongly is it always seen, the attraction of man for man! What life might be breathed into these dead forms!

A large part of the time in these islands is taken up in some way with religious festivals. We are told in these volumes that there are no less than one hundred and twelve holy days, including Sundays, and apart from these there are various other observances, so that with them everything turns on their, so called, religion. It is said, however, that the interest of the people in the various ceremonies of the church, such as the hanging of Judas, the pelting with sugar plums, and sprinkling of holy water, is fast decreasing. What does this portend? Does it not show that even in the most unenlightened Catholic countries, they are outgrowing these things? That they are beginning to crave other food? We believe that the day is fast passing by when men will be satisfied with such emptiness as is the ceremonial of the Catholic Church, and in proof of it, is not that Church everywhere beginning to *preach*? Beginning to have a soul? and so to speak to the souls of men?

The mode of observing Sunday of course attracted the attention of Englishmen, as so much differing from what they had been accustomed to. We extract a paragraph on the subject.

"There is a certain observance of Sunday here, as in most places. The country people think they are not breaking it by bringing to town various articles for sale, provided they attend mass regularly. Several asses laden with bundles of hay for the tanners, stood to-day at the doors of the wine shops, and after mass some men were selling a few rough country-made wrought-iron hoes in front of the church. Perhaps there are few occasions on which we are more inclined to 'damn the sins we are not inclined to,' than in judging our neighbors' mode of keeping holy the Sabbath day."

And yet who that has been in these countries, where it is made almost, or altogether, a day of amusement, but must be grateful to heaven that his lot is cast in a land where the Sabbath is kept holy? In the case of these islands, for instance, it is pleasant enough to see the people from the country thronging into the towns on some bright Sunday morning, neatly dressed, full of life and animation, nor should we be disposed to find fault with their using the opportunity to bring to market their butter and eggs. But how is it in the afternoon in those same streets? Instead of the happy voices of the morning, quarreling and curses, women in tears, and men drunken, the effects of the merry-making with which the day is closed. Let any one go into the more populous streets of Horta on a Sunday afternoon, where the wine shops are, and we cannot doubt that the most zealous advocate for observing the Sabbath as a day of amusement, would think of the quiet streets of one of our own cities with thanksgiving. It is not everywhere thus, it is true. In some of the cities of Continental Europe, especially in Protestant Germany, the use of Sunday afternoon as a time of innocent amusement is certainly pleasing even to those who have been accustomed to different views. But as long as we can see our streets thronged on Sunday evenings with the goers to church, and families assembling quietly to end in pleasant intercourse a day passed in virtuous improvement, we need not regret that our places of amusement are shut, and balls and parties as yet prohibited.

Our travellers were not long in Fayal before they were attracted to Pico, which island is the chief object in sight in Horta, and always beautiful. Pico is in fact a long island, its length being estimated at thirty-five miles. But seen from Fayal it presents only the appearance of a crested mountain, rising nine thousand feet from the sea. The diameter of this cone is about eight miles. One of the gentlemen ascended the mountain, which is no small undertaking. The view was of course fine, and sufficiently so to repay him for his toil. But we will not detain our readers with a description of it. More interesting is the account of the vineyards.

"To a stranger's eye it appears almost as miraculous a phenomenon that green vines and fresh grapes should be produced from the barren stones of this mountain, as that pure water should have gushed out of a rock. Wherever you cast your eye hardly any other objects than stones meet it. No vegetable

soil is there in the vineyards. If Pico had been the original heap of cinders that must have accumulated round Vulcan's furnace, it could scarcely be more bleak and barren than are the stones and scoriæ in which the vines are planted. Imagine the soil or refuse of a stone quarry spread over the foot of the mountain, and divided into square compartments by walls of from two to three feet in height, composed of the same rough materials, and then fancy a single dry vine, just sprouting with fresh early shoots, planted in the centre of each division, and the whole vineyard of twenty or thirty acres, surrounded by a high wall of closely piled stones, and an idea may be had of what a Pico vineyard in the month of May really is."

The great curiosity of Fayal, however, is the Caldeira, or exhausted crater of a volcano, at the top of the island. It is about four hours' walk from the coast. The way lies first through a richly cultivated valley, and then over the delicious heath-covered hills we have above described.

"Passing one ridge after another," say our travellers, "at length, without a moment's warning, we stopped suddenly on the precipitous edge of a crater. We saw beneath our feet an enormous valley deeply sunk in the earth, the huge fissures, with which its almost perpendicular sides were cleft, being in deep shade, and the projecting ridges in bright light. At the bottom was a gloomy lake, over which one white sea-gull floated, — the only living thing in that solitary place."

The descent to the bottom of this crater, which our travellers did not make, occupies about half an hour. It is said to be nearly four miles across, a small part of it only being taken up by the lake. Once down it is perfect solitude. The stillness is unbroken. On the top of this ocean island, shut out from all mankind, you feel indeed alone.

We had marked for extraction the account of a visit to a convent of nuns in Fayal. But we must rather hasten with our travellers to the other islands. Of the convents it is sufficient to say, that they were all suppressed, both here and in Portugal, by Don Pedro, when he came hither to prepare for the struggle with his usurping brother. There is no doubt that the motive for this measure was simply to get possession of their revenues, but if we may trust the accounts of the inhabitants, it was hardly called for on any consideration. The accounts of the licentiousness of the nuns almost exceed belief.

On the 22d of April the Messrs. B. left Fayal for Corvo and Flores, which islands they reached the following day. The former of these islands is little more than a barren rock, rising abruptly from the ocean. It is about twenty miles round, and the one village on the south side. The inhabitants are described as "a happy, contented, and industrious people, in good condition, strong, and well looking. They are one large family of nine hundred, with a priest for their father." After what we have said of the priests in these islands, we feel bound to give the description of this father of his flock.

"We passed on to the house of the chief person on the island, — the priest of Corvo, — the Reverendissimo Senhor João Ignacio Lopes, Meritissimo Vigariona Ilha do Corvo, &c. (as a friend had written in one of his books,) — a man whose plain, honest, wedgewood clay is perhaps more happily tempered than most elaborate specimens of porcelain. His house stands just outside the village, and we found him in the yard before it. He welcomed us as if we had been old friends, although we brought no letter to him, having heard that it was entirely unnecessary, — shook us heartily by the hand, and begged us to walk into his house, which he said was open to us. All this was done in right sincerity too. The very moment we entered the room, without waiting for us to unpack our own basket of provisions, or to ask or say anything more than that we would be seated, he took a chair in his hand, mounted it, and from a wooden tray which swung aloft, beyond the reach of mouse or rat, he handed down first one loaf, then another of a holyday quality; then a cheese, and then another, begging us to eat.

> 'And, with blithe air of open fellowship,
> Brought from his cupboard wine and stouter cheer,
> Like one who would be merry.'

"There were barrels on the floor, and wine-bottles in his cupboard. Wine-glasses he had not, but he filled some goodly tumblers with wine, and pouring the rest into a white jug, drank it off by way of example. He was a bulky man, of about seventy, six feet in height, and somewhat bowed with years. His head was bald, having a few white locks at the sides, his eyes were moist and dim, his features massive and expressive of quiet contentment; and every one we met with spoke well of the good old man. The boatmen called him 'the father of the island,' and looked up to him with respect when he spoke to them. The villagers, who came into his room,

seemed to regard him as the patriarch of the place; they bowed low, and kissed his hand, which he held out for the purpose."

One more extract respecting these poor Corvoites we must make, even at the risk of having to leave out more important things.

"We had heard a good deal of the extreme poverty of Corvo, — and if poverty means the want of shoes, and mirrors, and oranges, and cane-bottomed chairs, certainly the people can boast of none of these. Their dingy clothes, too, which are principally homespun, give them rather an unwealthy appearance. But they are poor only in the sense that the other islanders are poor, — in wanting European luxuries. 'The man,' says Cobbett, 'who by his own and his family's labor can provide a sufficiency of food and raiment, and a comfortable dwelling-place, is not a poor man.' They are a hard-working people, thrown very much on their own resources; rear pigs, poultry, cows, sheep; grow maize, wheat, potatoes, and flax; weave their own garments, cure their own bacon; and, as we do in England, import their wine. Grapes, in the middle of summer, and abundance of melons, are their luxury. Shoes they wisely eschew; no shoemaker lives at Corvo, and the priest is the only human being there who submits to such trammels, and his antique buckled shoes, were, of course, an importation. American whalers occasionally touch at Corvo for provisions, and, as is usual with ships from England and America, they in no way improve the morality of the people."

The island of Flores is much larger, being nearly thirty miles in length and nine in breadth. It is probably the most beautiful of the islands, being supposed to derive its name from the flowery shrubs in which it abounds. The following extract may serve to give some idea of its scenery.

"The village (Fajemsinho,) is so far worthy of notice, as being connected with the grandest scenery, perhaps, to be found among the Azores. It stands on the level floor of a magnificent semi-amphitheatre of cliffs, facing the open sea. It is surrounded by green fields and fresh vineyards, well-watered by the numerous streams that flow through it from the hills; and as we descended the steep zig-zag path cut in the southern cliffs, its limits were pointedly marked out by the blue curtain of wood-smoke which hung over the cottages. The fires had just been lighted for the evening meal. The setting sun shone up the mouth of the hollow with a soft yellow light, illu-

minating one side, and throwing the other into tender shadow. In one place the sunshine glittered on a thin silvery water-fall, which slowly turned over the edge of the distant precipice, — in another it sparkled through a shower of spray, into which a snowy thread was broken in its long fall from the heights; and as the soft clouds of vapor, into which other water-falls dispersed, were wafted to and fro in the light evening breeze, like the cloud of incense from a censor, it slightly tinged them with gold. Above our heads the hazy cliffs towered in their bold semicircle, diversified in color by various shades of green, brown, and grey; and where the ledges of lava which projected through the soil had been melted by streams and water-falls, or by the oozings from above, by streaks and bands of shining black. The sea in front of this vast theatre was brightly lighted by the sun, which, however, went down soon afterwards behind a bank of heavy clouds, and left the valley and the village, with the cliffs behind, cold and lustreless."

The description of the passage from this to the next village is so lively, and contains such wholesome truth, that we shall make no apology for extracting it.

"The path from this village to that of Panta Delgada leads up this precipice. It is fitter for goats rather than for man, so steep, stony, and impracticable is it. It more resembles the ruined stair-case of an abbey, — such as that in Netley Abbey, for instance, than a pathway for the inhabitants of a large village daily to go and return from their field labors. Yet the peasants come tripping down it, from stone to stone, carrying heavy burdens on their heads, as lightly and surely as none could do but those who have been used to pass over them barefooted from childhood. Yesterday morning, when we were laboring up this stony way in iron-shod walking shoes, sometimes grasping the heath on the inner side for greater safety, always keeping tightly hold of the Flores 'Alpen-stock,' and ramming it hard between the stones, to prevent a sudden slip, which would have sent us bounding into the sea, where the surf might be seen, but scarcely heard, one of the village girls passed us, with a heavy burden of wood upon her head. Her step was as fearless and graceful under her burden as ours was the reverse; and so quiet, that until she was close to us, I did not know she was near. She just balanced herself one moment upon a single stone in the path to allow us to pass, acknowledged our morning salutation with a slight blush and grave politeness, exchanged something more jocose with the hammock-men behind, and then, gathering up her white petticoat

with one hand, and steadying her load with the other, wound her way down the mountain. Nothing could be more graceful and easy than all her movements, and a moment's glance at her feet, which actually grasped the stone she stood on, soon explained the reason. We laugh at Chinese shoes with the same sort of self-complacency that the inhabitants of the Celestial Empire regard us barbarians. But only look at the foot of a statue, or the feet of this mountain-girl, or of a young child, or the impression in the hard wet sand of a man's foot that never wore a shoe, — that, for instance, of an Azorean or Neapolitan boatman, and compare it with the sharp angular mark of a boot or a shoe; and remember that the foot inside, whether it be whole bound in calf, sheep's skin, buck-skin, or morocco; or half-bound in silk, satin, or prunello, is, in nine cases out of ten, a misshapen deformity, with one toe kneaded into another toe, and nails at sixes and sevens; hardened where it should be soft, squeezed to a point where it should be spread abroad, pinched, ill-treated, and marred, by common consent almost from the hour of its birth; and then let us say how much superior is our own shoe-making to that of the Asiatic tea-dealers."

The journey around the island of Flores occupied two days, and seems to have been one of great interest. There are several towns, and the population twelve to fourteen thousand. The climate is colder than that of St. Michael's, so that oranges are not raised here. The road lay for the most part close to the sea-shore, and our travellers saw various proofs of the roughness of the coast, in the remains of wrecks which were scattered about, and sometimes used for building their cottages. In one place they saw a piece of a ship's stern with 'The Plymouth, Baltimore,' upon it. An anecdote connected with these wrecks we feel bound, in justice again to the priests, and to show that they sometimes speak, and speak with power, to extract.

"An anchor, belonging to a wrecked vessel, had been missing. No one, of course, knew anything about it; and, after every search had in vain been made for it, application was made to the priest. On the following Sunday, after mass had been said, he bade his congregation stop, as he had something serious to say to them; and turning round from the altar to the people, he concluded some such words as these, with the following strong metaphor. 'I have heard,' said he, 'with much sorrow, that an anchor from the vessel that was wrecked

upon our coast, has been stolen from the shore by some of my parishioners. I am informed that search has everywhere been made for that anchor, and that hitherto it has not been found. There are among the people who now hear me, those who well know both the persons who have stolen it, and the place where the anchor is concealed. I do not wish them to come forward now and openly confess their guilt, for that there is no necessity; but I charge them, by the holy office which I hold, to return that anchor to the place from which it has been taken, before seven days have gone by; and I here announce to those deluded men, who shall persevere in obstinate disobedience to my commands, that, in the last great day, *that anchor shall drag down their souls deeper and deeper into hell.*' The next morning it was returned."

From Flores the Messrs. B. returned to Fayal, whence they visited the island of St. Georges. This island is chiefly remarkable as the scene of the last eruption, which took place in 1808. The fire broke forth in the midst of a *lake*, and immediately formed a crater of about twenty-four acres. From this flowed down a stream of lava to the sea, overwhelming a part of the village of Ursulina. The successive eruptions continued for more than a month. The distance of the crater from the sea was about four miles, and its elevation about three thousand five hundred feet. This island is larger than Pico, being about twenty-five miles in length, and quite narrow. Its population is about eight or ten thousand.

But the time had now come when a residence at the baths of Furnas was no longer uncomfortable, and thither our travellers returned, arriving in St. Michael's about the 1st of June. On their way to the Furnas they found the scenery much improved by the summer, for, though there is not the absolute change from summer to winter in these islands, to which we are accustomed, yet the difference is sufficiently perceptible. The baths, too, there was a change. They were no longer solitary. Visitors were there from Ponte Delgada, from Villa Franca, and other parts of the island. From the other islands too, it is not uncommon to resort to the hot springs of the Furnas; and we have heard that even from Madeira the inhabitants occasionally go to St. Michael's to escape the heat of their summer winds. For all this company, however, the accommodations are very meagre. It may interest our readers to hear with what sort of lodgings some of the visitors must be

content. Going to the bath one morning, the Messrs. B. observed a party just leaving.

"On our return the party had left, and pushing aside the half-opened shutter we looked into the room that had been vacated. With accommodations equalling perhaps those of a cow-house for one animal, the deserted sitting-room in other respects resembled a dull catacomb; the furniture had been removed, except, indeed, two worm-eaten bedsteads, — the melancholy spectres of their former selves, — and one high-shouldered wooden chair, which stood awkwardly awry, as if in a fit of the sullens, in a deep hole in the black irregular earthen floor. A piece of Indian matting had probably concealed the black earth; the boxes had supplied the place of chairs, and the clean beds with parti-colored coverlets, and the pillow with its muslin hangings, had completed the furniture of the room during the visit of the family who had left. They were 'respectable' people, from the neighboring town of Villa Franca, who in this sorry abode had contrived to enjoy themselves for the last three weeks. A young man of an evening sat at the door tinkling his guitar, whilst two or three women indolently leaned upon their arms at the window, returning the salutations of each passer-by, or chatting to a group standing around them. After dark the squeak of fiddle strings or of voices, and the bright light shining through the chinks of the rough window shutters, betokened the merriment of the inmates.

"In this way large families often leave their capacious dwellings in the towns and elsewhere, for the small, rough cabins in the village; philosophically, (as it would be called, if those few whom the world think wise men, had put up with such inconveniences,) making the best of such accommodations as the valley affords, for the sake of its natural attractions."

We shall complete the account of the baths of the valley of Furnas with the following description of the manner of using them, and the life of the bathers.

"The choice of baths at the springs lies between sulphur, iron, and the mixture of both. There are four bathing houses, one belonging to the Baron de Laranjeiros, which is the best; another open to the public, which is the worst; a third, the property of the American Vice-Consul, Mr. Hickling; and a fourth, which contains the iron and sulphur waters mixed, or the cold iron water alone, and called the Misturas, the property of I know not whom. In each bathing-house there is a reclining board; and the custom of many of the Azoreans is to take

their baths at a high temperature, to get into a profuse perspiration, dress, wrap themselves in a huge cloth cloak, and lie their lengths on the board for a period varying from a quarter of an hour to a whole one; after this to envelop their mouths and neck, and occasionally the entire head, in a pocket handkerchief or napkin, that they may imbibe no breath of cold air on their way home; and sometimes on their arrival there to lie down once more and perspire again. But in neither of these habits have we followed them in their daily baths. The most agreeable temperature for the sulphur baths is from 92° to 95° Fah.; hotter than this they are debilitating, and much cooler, chilly. The mixture of sulphur and iron, as it is more stimulating, may be made somewhat cooler; but a temperature between 90° and 95° is the most pleasant. Never has it been my good fortune to bathe in so luxurious a bath as the unmixed sulphur-water. If anything could possibly be found to reconcile one to earthquakes, it is assuredly to be found in the baths of the Furnas. Here they are, whenever you may choose to enjoy them, by night and by day, in cold and in heat, summer and winter, always the same, welling from their source in never-failing abundance, open at all hours, free to all, and free of cost. But let it not be supposed that we are in a bath pump-room, with its marble luxuries. Nothing can be less inviting than the appearance of these bathing-houses, which, for the most part, have a subterraneous aspect; but, except to the fastidious, they are all sufficient for the one purpose for which they have been built,—that of amply enjoying the waters. And let a rheumatic and sour-tempered Englishman, exercising his natural privilege of grumbling to its fullest extent, and whose every word and work, complexion, gait, and temper, whose very clothes, hanging on the pegs of the bath-room, indicate bile, after despising the appearance of these rooms, slowly, quietly, otter-like, subside into a sulphur bath, tempered by old John Quiet, to the moderate warmth of 95°; and then let him confess, whether he be not a wiser and a better man, whether his discontent has not lessened, his lust for purple and fine linen vanished, and his care for marble and pump-rooms faded away.

"Having finished your bath, the next thing to be done is to drink the cold iron water,—the Seltzer water of the valley. This spring gushes from a stone spout in a bank near the Mistura baths. It colors the stone basin into which it falls; and the stones over which it flows to the stream below, a bright orange color. It is itself as clear and colorless as the air; and out it comes from its gaudy spout, sparkling, glittering, bub-

bling, leaping, clear and transparent as diamonds. It is as precious to the taste as it is to the eye. It stimulates and exhilarates the mouth, satiates thirst, cheers and refreshes the drinker. The slight metallic taste and effervescence, the grateful coolness, the purity and brightness of these waters, when you slake your thirst after a wearisome mountain walk, or fasting at your bath, and, indeed, at whatever hour you taste them, excite and invigorate the palate without any of those unpleasant sensations of cold distension, which would inevitably accompany an equal indulgence in ordinary cold water. Many of the islanders, however, dislike and make wry faces at them, except, indeed, a feeble old woman, who totters down the hill every morning, and stoops over the spring, in the hope, perhaps, of adding a few more days to her threescore years and ten; and, except the experienced Furnas peasant, weary with his day's toil, who may not unfrequently be seen turning out of the path to the iron spring, where, taking off his heavy carapuça, and laying down his burden, he drinks a large draught of the refreshment which God has here provided for him. Having drunk of the iron-water, the next subject for discussion is such a breakfast as the appetite, which it invariably gives, obliges you to eat. Of this wholesome meal, however, — the test of last night's temperance, — the Portuguese are indifferent eaters. Other occupations succeed, in which they partake more heartily. A pic-nic to the lake is occasionally suggested; and the indication of this is a long string of asses in 'lagging file,' with party-colored riders and well-stored panniers on their backs, which, followed by a crowd of drivers and servants, dawdles through the village to the excitement of the irritable cottage curs. A saunter in the Tank, the favorite grounds of the American Vice-Consul, is another amusement. A ride on an ass without aim, another. A paddle in a boat on the Tank, is another. Fishing, with crooked pins, for the gold fish in the lake, another. Lounging from house to house, talking an infinite deal of nothing, eating, sleeping, lounging again; eating again, gossipping, snuffing, smoking, card-playing, and sleeping once more, constitute and close the insipidities of the Furnas day."

These volumes close with an Appendix, in which is contained much valuable information concerning the climate and the diseases of the island of St. Michael's, together with a chemical analysis of the waters of its hot springs. As we have sufficiently taxed the patience of our readers with extracts, we give the substance of what is said on the two first points, in our own words.

Of the prevailing diseases in these islands, the Messrs. B. had uncommon opportunities of judging. During their winter residence at Villa Franca, they were thronged with patients, who by some means had found out that one of them was a physician. This tax upon their time and attention, for which the only compensation they received was thanks, was submitted to with a kindness and patience worthy all praise. Their names will be long remembered by that poor people. Not to go into all the details of the diseases which fell under their notice, we will merely state, that generally they were, as might be expected from the mild and equable climate, of a passive rather than active character. There were few cases of fever; consumption so rare that there were but two cases of it out of their four hundred and sixty-five patients. "This immunity from consumption is further evidence," Dr. B. remarks, "that one of the principal causes of this disease is great vicissitudes of temperature; and it also shows that humidity, when accompanied by a warm and equable temperature, is a favorable circumstance, rather than otherwise, in a climate which is sought by those who are predisposed to tubercular diseases of the lungs. In the island of Malta, where the air is very dry, although the climate is warm and not very variable, consumption prevails to a very considerable extent."

The climate is characterized as humid, mild, and equable. Estimated by the quantity of rain which falls, it is less humid than that of London or Rome. But it is an ocean dampness. It pervades everything. Boots grow mouldy, kid gloves are spotted, and clothes thrown aside at night, feel almost wet in the morning. Yet like the dampness of the ocean, it does not seem to affect the health injuriously. The natives, who live in cottages, without glass windows, and with earthen floors, are a healthy, robust race, and "more than one instance," says Dr. B. "occurred within my own observation, where Englishmen, who had been very subject to colds at home, were entirely free from them here." There is no absolute rainy season, as in some of the West India Islands. The nearest approach to it is in the months of November and December, when there are constant showers. Still our authors saw but one day of continued rain in their whole residence of eight months. The showers are succeeded almost instantaneously by bright sunshine, and often in a few minutes hardly a cloud is to be seen.

The mean out-of-door temperature during the winter months

was 60° Fah., with a range of only 7°. Within doors the difference in temperature was scarcely appreciable, though the range of the thermometer was 4° less. The highest point to which the thermometer rose during the winter months was 76°, and the lowest point to which it sank was 51°. It is remarkable that the heat on the 14th of January and on the 4th of July at the hottest part of the day, was the same, namely 76° Fah.

According to these observations, the mean temperature of St. Michael's is 2° colder than Madeira; 5° warmer than Lisbon; 13° warmer than Nice; 12° warmer than Rome or Naples.

On the other hand, the climate of St. Michael's appears to be more equable than that of Madeira, where the range of the thermometer in winter is given at 12°. At London it is 30°; at Nice 23°; at Rome 23°; and at Naples 30°.

The wind which prevailed in December was northeasterly; in January, February, March, and April, southerly. It must not be supposed, however, that the northeast wind in these islands is like ours in Boston. It is perhaps the most pleasant wind they have, cool but clear and bracing.

After some very sensible observations upon the expediency of sending any consumptive patients in search of health from change of climate, and the too common delay till it is too late, our author sums up with the following view of the recommendations of the Azores for such a purpose, as compared with Madeira, the common resort of his countrymen.

"There are, of course, many diseases for which a change to Italy is desirable, but consumption, when in its incipient stages, is not one of these. The island of Madeira is now recognised as far preferable to the south of Europe for this class of patients. The Azores are rather colder than Madeira, and somewhat more equable, and perhaps more humid, but they have not at present those accommodations for strangers which the latter island possesses, nor have they communication by steam with England. For such as have a family predisposition or tendency to consumption, and are strong enough to submit to the inconveniencies which must be expected in a foreign place, little frequented by visitors, St. Michael's or Fayal would be a good winter residence; but those in whom the disease was at all advanced, would not obtain the necessary comforts. A patient of the former class, who had wisely re-

solved on spending several years abroad, could alternately winter in St. Michael's, Fayal, and Madeira, and thus gain the benefits of change of residence and society. Many persons now spend the whole year in Madeira, living during the hot months among the mountains. Such would find the valley of the Furnas in summer a delightful change. By leaving Madeira in the beginning of June, such invalids might pass three or four months in this valley, and thus take advantage of the baths. The voyage, the change of scenery, the singular natural wonders of the place itself, and the agreeable stimulus which novelty affords, would make a residence in this somewhat rude watering-place both beneficial and agreeable, and relieve in some measure the monotonous existence of a confinement to one small island.

F. C.

ART. IV.—*Specimens of Foreign Literature. Vol. X. Theodore: Or, The Skeptic's Conversion.* Translated by JAMES F. CLARKE. In 2 vols. Boston: Hilliard, Gray & Co. 1841.

IN the division of labor among the nations, to Germany has been given, mainly, the scholar's task. Her learning is the deepest, and most various, in the world. She publishes more new books, and her libraries keep more old ones, than can be shown by any other people. One consequence is, that she speculates more freely than any beside, upon all permitted subjects, and broaches all possible theories and imaginations upon themes considered however settled or sacred. But let us hear without panic all she has to say. Literature is a staple in excess with her; — she is a book-worm and a book-maker, by the confession of some of her own sons; but the power of books is by no means irresistible; nor, to resist it, must we needs vie with another in mere abundance of speculation and writing. The disproportionate literary action of the mind has its evil as well as its good. The wide learning and profound investigation of the Germans are combined with much of weak passiveness and vagueness, — with a flighty imagination as well as strong thought, and with more of religious sentiment than moral nerve. Still, in letters, they take the lead; and it is well for us to be made acquainted with these heirs of the scholastics of the middle ages. We have now many samples

of their philosophy, poetry, and theology, for which we are grateful, though, allowing for the drawbacks of interest in all translation, nothing has yet come to make us ashamed of English literature or the English mind. We commend those who, with something of the gift of tongues, are still enlarging the materials of our judgment. Sometimes we have thought it not quite fair, when overwhelmed with an immense and slightly scornful enumeration of authors, whom their eulogist defies us to match from our own acquaintances. And sometimes we have feared for the student of this lore, lest the immigrants into his mind should subdue the natives of the soil. Nor can we admit, though welcoming all proficiency in this study, the necessity, urged by some, of a thorough inoculation with it to mental health and culture. There are those, with little more of the genius for languages than is needful to carry them without reproach through a course of liberal education, on whose abilities and thoughts the riches of no language could pour contempt. Again, with some there is a mere learning, (of more dignity than that of facts,) of others' intellectual states, which thought-learning not a few fatally substitute for original mental vigor; though laden with the spoils of many a nation's history, they can speak no kindling word of their own. And there are minds, almost disabled from reaching sincere convictions, with no self-restraint upon venting crude notions, the instruments of their tools, the helpless prey of their acquisitions, weak and pale before the spirits they have raised.

Having said thus much, not without occasion, let us freely admit the merits of those who modestly master the language and speculation of a sister people, and render thanks for the gift of their valuable results. We welcome the continuation of the present series, and thank, in particular, the translator of the volumes before us. They need not his apology, for we should hardly know we were not reading his original work. The author, De Wette, has reached in one point a singular excellence, in combining, with so lively and interesting a story, so various a texture of striking thought upon religion, philosophy, and art, — showing their mingled influence in the growth of the mind. We must hastily pass over many of his topics. The analogy much of the dialogue runs between states of feeling and nature, is often just and highly poetic; but at times becomes fanciful and weak. The views of justification by faith are important, though not new to theologians among ourselves.

The discussions on the true idea and form of the church, are well to be considered, though, in the character of religious worship and association, we should remember the spirit is of more concern than the letter, and be careful lest, despising the letter of others, we worship a letter of our own.

But instead of attempting to treat all the topics arising in the progress of the work, we shall confine ourselves to one question, often reäppearing in it, and upon which the translator gives his own supplements, — the relation of Naturalism and Spiritualism to Supernaturalism, in a true interpretation of the Christian faith. Here is the point, on which plainly is to be joined the most serious issue for religion of the present day. Is Christianity a development of the natural powers of the human mind, or a special interposition of God? We believe there are errors and deficiencies in the reasonings urged and the systems built up on either side of this question; and that there is a real harmony in the ideas arising from both. But reserving our views here for the conclusion of our remarks, we shall now present several arguments to prove Christianity a strictly supernatural revelation. And first, let us ask the import of the miracles. Some seem to consider these as parasitical plants on the tree of life; others accept them, but not as giving authority to Christ's instructions; while most Christians perhaps think this their only office. We hold them to be an indispensable seal borne by Christ as God's special herald; but, not to repeat too much the usual defence of this position, we believe the miracles themselves teach truth, and thus are emphatically, in Christ's own phrase, to be believed. And first, they teach that material nature is not the original, ultimate existence, but that a spiritual power behind it controls and overcomes it. Nor is this a needless instruction. One form of infidelity has always been in the doctrine, that the world itself, as it stands, is eternal and uncaused; the events now proceeding have proceeded in an eternal series; nothing exists but matter and its laws, — the human soul but a finer texture of clay, a transient light from the friction of material elements. Now, among other refutations, the miracles may be regarded as a reply from God himself to this atheistic theory; showing nature itself is not original and ultimate, but that a living Force beneath it unfixes its wheels, and bids them fly back or forth with perfect flexibility. We see thus how superficial the view that calls miracles appeals to the senses, their immediate office being the direct contrary,

a revelation of spirit as primary and supreme, in fact a reassertion of the Creator. The things made declare the Godhead; this wondrous dominion over them declares it anew; and atheism is doubly atheism, when it stands unblushing before the miracles of Christianity, as well as the splendors of creation. And this reässertion meets not only a particular position of atheism, but a natural prejudice of the common mind, and the habitual impression of the worldling. Had this course of natural laws flowed through all time a sacred, unbending river, men might have thought, if not that matter is the foundation of all things, yet that there is something inviolable and fatal in its movements, — and thus could not so have realized the almightiness of God. Miracles have wrought strongly to prevent this absorption of the human soul in material laws. It is observable, too, that this office of them is perpetual. It is sometimes said, they were intended only to waken the dull minds of the Jews; and pious believers in our faith have thought that their evidence with the lapse of time loses something of its freshness and force. But in one way this freshness and force are increased. For, in the lapse of time, man's researches into the laws and powers of matter have grown even more deep and subtle. We have discovered the hiding-places of all art and magic. The principles of low jugglery and grand deception have been detected, and every lying sign and wonder unveiled. But science, lynx-eyed, and laden with the trophies of discovery, has approached not one step to explaining the dread, beneficent miracles of Jesus Christ. They remain miracles as much as ever, — the sublime outstretchings of the Almighty arm, — the direct givings of the Infinite bounty. And as we see that arm identified with the hand of Christ, and ranging through the round of nature's manifestations, — as it were every spring in her mechanism giving way before it, — we cannot but have a new sense of the eternal omnipotent Spirit.

And this leads us to remark another teaching of miracles, not only of the Divine Being, but also of the Divine Presence. Thus, they meet skepticism again, one of whose doctrines has been, that God has nothing to do with the world He has made, but, like an Eastern king, sits apart in repose. Nor has this been an impression of philosophers only; but the mass even of the religious seem to fancy that God, having made the world in six days, retired, like any other workman, from his work, to dwell afar, and not beside and within them. Now, whatever

can give a new sense of the divine omnipresence, is precious indeed; for it has been said, hardly too strongly, that but realizing the truth, "Thou, God, seest me," would alone keep from all vice, and prompt to all virtue. True, God's presence is revealed to a spiritual mind in all His works, — in the birth of a child as in the raising of the dead. But most minds are not spiritual. Probably most believing minds habitually stop at the outward world, and only for moments, in raptures of devotion, realize the divinity moving through it. Men of science, from their very familiarity with second causes, sometimes overlook the First. From the adaptations that fill earth and the human frame, they can soar like Lecomte among the stars without finding the Almighty. To them, as to so many more ignorant, nature becomes an idol. They worship, not the sun with the Persian, but the universe. Now miracles are God's arm, breaking in pieces this idol, which, broken once, is broken forever, though the age of miracles is gone. They show that God's immediate agency but seems to our dim sight to slumber beneath this beautiful procession of effects, — that nature's laws bind not His power, but are fixed by it as a foundation for our knowledge and action. And what is very remarkable, is the extent of this miraculous evidence. The circle of Christ's power over nature, seems a full circle. Was the eye blind? he opened it. The ear deaf? he unstopped it. The tongue bound? he loosed it. The brain lunatic? he regulated it. Food scarce? he multiplied it. Wine wanting? at his touch the water "blushed" into it. The storm up? he laid it. Kindred dead? he raised them. Mortals suffering the ills "flesh is heir to"? among the sick hosts on hosts that crowded his step, probably every variety of disease fled from his healing hand. And in the parting of body and soul, on his cross, as its miraculous might went out of the world, it rent it and veiled its light. What was wanting to describe this power as it were round the whole sphere of nature, but that the very hands and lips that had held it, after death's damps had passed through them, should break through bars of rocks, to do and speak again in the world of their benediction. When, throughout, the power of the world yields to a mightier power, the thin crust is broken which parts us from the Infinite and Eternal. We know God's presence. We see the vision of the wheels Ezekiel saw, which had a living spirit in them, moving them every way. We judge that God moves what at every

point He stops, — that he is in the tempest he makes sink at his Son's bidding, — that He lights up the luminary he darkens before His Son's cross.

Again; while the miracles are a new lesson on God's being and presence, they teach His supreme regard, above all His other works, for the soul. It may be said, the soul knows this by intuitive communings with Him. But few know it so surely as to despise all confirmation of the fact. Indeed, at this point skepticism again denies the fact. A prevailing strain of argument with doubters is this, that it is the crowning piece of human vanity for this little, short-lived creature to pretend to be the chief object of the divine favor, — this thin population to think itself of more importance than the swarming myriads of animal tribes, — this very mote of humanity to imagine itself prized above these immense masses of matter. This great palace is built for other ends than to serve man's convenience and nourish his extravagant hopes. Now miracles answer this sneering disparagement of human nature. For if God, by amazing miracles, alters the palace for man's sake, He may have built it for his sake. Miracles surely were wrought for mankind. In them nature seems a self-denying servant to help the human soul. She stoops that it may mount over her, and make of her a ladder to the Eternal throne. She opens her most solid walls as portals for the coming in of the Almighty. He boweth His heavens and comes down. It is not vanity for the soul to aspire after the measure of His own doings on her account. It is not vanity for her to think herself better than the clods of the valley, which He breaks visibly again and again for her resurrection.

And here we come to the last direct teaching of miracles we shall mention, — the soul's immortality. Perhaps no argument has been more labored on natural ground, than that on the question whether we shall survive the grave. And with what result? That the wisest ancient sages hoped to live again, yet trembled and doubted mid their hopes; and some of them expressed the longing for a direct revelation, — and that a few modern philosophers, now this revelation has come, profess to be entirely independent of its evidence to this point, having the absolutely certain evidence of intuition; but not with the result of satisfying on this ground, many other philosophers, as wise as these, or sustaining the hopes of any considerable portion of the human family. The question here is not of the

universality of the idea of immortality. The question is not of the possibility of any mind's reaching strong faith on this point from self-inspection. We suppose a perfect knowledge of the nature of anything would indicate its destiny; and therefore perfect self-knowledge would detect the Maker's purpose in His work, and declare immortality. And we welcome all new evidences and illustrations drawn up from the well of truth in the bottom of the human heart. We ourselves love nothing better than to study these deep hieroglyphics of the Almighty's finger. In the gropings of abstruse reasoning, we have sometimes thought we were seizing this strong chain that binds the human mind to the eternal shore. In hours of high contemplation, we have perhaps foolishly dreamed that we caught some glimpse of what is meant by the intuition of immortality; and thought ourselves so to live, we saw not how we were ever to die. Though we know not how much of this was our own light, how much the reflection of Christianity. But the question is, whether the children of God, in their various constitution and power of speculation, — in ignorance, sickness, grief, — need the miraculous declarations of the Gospel. Verily, Christ, and he alone, gives to mankind a revelation of immortality for us all, and he always makes it plain. His miracles do not argue the question, they show the fact. If, after showing his commission, he had affirmed a future life, our faith would be bound. But his recall of the soul to the deserted frame proves that the soul was not dead, but departed. He did not create a new soul, but restored the same to its familiar habitation. He is accounted happy who can bring up cases in point to the general doctrines he lays down. Christ brought up infallible examples, not only predicting an entrance into the world of spirits, but actually opening down that world into our own; summoning the witnesses to his words even out of eternity, and from the very presence of God; nay, coming back himself, an all-glorious witness, to make good his own words forever, so long as the world should stand and history keep her treasure.

The question has been asked, Hath any traveller come back from the mysterious bourne, to tell us of this spirit-land? We answer, Yes, travellers more than one, with these tidings at least, that the divine spark in the human breast is not quenched in the damps of the dark valley. Now, the human intellect, ever tending to conceit of its powers, in moments of high-wrought speculation, may make light of these demonstrations

of immortality. But when the evil days come, when long sickness dims the eye of the mind as well as body, and breaks up the chain of reasoning as well as the course of labor, — when affliction, more prostrating, tries the stability of these beautiful visions of the imagination, — then most men feel they want something more. Then the drowning soul clutches at every straw. Many fine-spun theories break under the weight of its despondency; — many ingenious images of discourse, pleasant for the hour, have faded from its sight, and the broken sepulchre of Jesus towers up from the blank waste of its despair, a substantial sign, — the very "gate of Heaven."

If we have given a just direction to these remarks, the miracles of Jesus serve an important office of teaching themselves, while they establish his right to teach. It is sometimes said, Christ's truth, not his power, proves him divine. If what has been said be just, his truth and power are one and inseparable. Indeed, we regard him as manifesting a superhuman truth, and superhuman goodness, as well as superhuman power. His miraculous character is three-fold, corresponding to the three grand attributes of God. And these three in him are inextricably interwoven, a glorious Trinity, — so much so, that they almost seem to take at once each other's shape. Christ's character is all natural; because, without a break, it is all supernatural. And few things we conceive can be more offensive to the humble disciple of Christ than the speculative, controversial suppositions, by which it is somewhat common to present these three apart, in a kind of dissection, generally to show that Christ's mere power, had it been mere power, would not prove him to have come from God. We are told, when two or more elements are chemically united, the result is not a compound, but a new substance, individual in force and properties. Something like this is the simplicity of this marvellous union we have remarked in Christ. We have spoken of the miracles as directly teaching truth. We would not leave this point without observing, that they also seem to us indirectly to teach it. Doctrines brought under this stamp of power, honored with this signature of miracle, receive a special emphasis. Christ's works lay an accent on his words. They select from the whole body of truth what is of most moment for us to dwell upon and consider. Nor is this an insignificant service. History testifies abundantly how even great minds, in their unassisted moral studies, have often failed in this power to select the essential

from the unimportant, and have wandered into the most foolish trifles, as well as the most serious mistakes. For instance, in regard to the terms of pardon with God, men have sincerely asked, not only, Shall I sacrifice the firstlings of my flock? but "Shall I give the fruit of my body for the sin of my soul?" or scourge my own flesh? And will any one say that Christ's seals of a superhuman commission add no force, and call no attention to his doctrine of repentance alone making the soul a subject of pardon, and his own death as the only needed sacrifice?

Again; men in their ignorance and selfishness have strayed as to the standard of morality, — sometimes signalizing gross vices, as cheating, lying, anger, for necessary virtues; and sometimes scorning the purest virtues, as meekness, patience, temperance, for mean vices, — practically, conscience proving a very chameleon without religion and the word of God. And will any one say no new impression is made on his moral sensibility by Christ's heaven-attested exaltation of the meek, temperate, self-denying qualities of character, before him neglected, and disparagement of the proud, luxurious, warlike ones, before him extolled? And does the authority with which he speaks give no force to the model of a child's trusting, joyful piety he substitutes for the self-affliction and servility with which men had so generally thought to glorify their Maker? Can we tell how many Christ's miracles, in whatever light viewed, have led to dwell on his most purely spiritual truths, — how many themes they have given of a soul-saving meditation? To those who consider all the speculations, true and false, grand and trifling, into which men's minds, on all these subjects, have run, this effect of Christ's miraculous commission will seem a truly divine eclecticism. To this direct and indirect teaching of the miracles, might be added their symbolical instruction, which is beautiful and inexhaustible.*

* While we accord with much our friend the translator has added of his own matter in notes, some of his views we think unsound. Were theological questions to be settled by human authority, we should regard his list of original works in theology, though containing some names we delight to honor, as yet exclusive and incomplete. His views in note H. on the nature and object of miracles, we feel bound to notice. Does he really believe the prevailing view of miracles among us is of things "*un*natural?" Does he rightly state the question lately moved, as being, "Whether we believe the truth of Christianity because of its miracles, or its miracles because of its truth?" Is it not

In view of the whole we must join in the cry extorted from the iron-bound sentinels set to watch the crucifixion, when the Father in mighty wonders appointed his Son's funeral rites, and nature mourned, "Truly this was the Son of God." Is not the plea, that evil demons might work equal miracles with Christ's an approach to the unpardonable sin he charged upon those, who attributed his mighty works to Beelzebub? And though he warns his followers, that false prophets would deceive, were it possible, the very elect, with great signs and wonders, he admits not they would do anything comparable to his own deeds, or that it would be possible to deceive the faithful on their guard; nor does History testify any events occurred to rank with his miracles. The works of the old Egyptian magicians, under the test, faded before the Mosaic miracles,—and even these, though no man can refute their reality, in historic certainty, in singular grandeur, and in pure beneficence, cannot vie with those of Christianity. We conclude then with Nicodemus, — "Rabbi, we know that thou art a teacher come from God, — for no man can do these miracles that thou doest, except God be with him." In this argument Jesus seems to acquiesce, — and indeed they who disparage it seem in their mind to be at variance with God, who urges it, and Christ, who appeals to it, and all the believers at the time, who accepted it. It is remarkable of John, who is regarded as the most spiritual

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rather, whether the claim such a being as Christ makes expressly on the ground of his miracles, to a supernatural commission, is to be allowed? His hypothesis for settling the question, as he states it, is that we should be more ready "to believe Christ divine on account of his teaching and character," were "all the miracles removed from his life, than if the marvellous part of his history were presented to us separated from his teaching and character." Is this hypothesis possible either to be applied or even distinctly framed? We confess we cannot imagine such a supposition upon the history of Jesus. To speak of separating Christ's miracles from his teaching and character, is to us no less than to speak of annihilating all. The translator takes the plea made by the advocate of miracle, that no bad man *could* work it, as laying down the principle, that, as a good man only can work it, "we receive the fact because of the character of the man." We ask, how many good men have wrought miracles? Finally, is the translator's reason for not accepting the wonders of jugglers as miracles, simply that he "knows the purpose and agent to be alike unworthy of God?" Before knowing this would he accept these wonders as miracles?

of the Evangelists, and as treating the gospel most on subjective grounds, refers to miracle as evidence more than all the other three.

Our next argument to prove Christianity supernatural is the character of Christ. Of this supreme manifestation of wisdom loveliness, purity, — we would say the only satisfactory account is, that it came from the special inspiration of God. First it would seem so, lying as this character does in such complete offset to that of the nation and age in which Christ lived. That an Hebrew of the Hebrews should have been no Jew, — should have shown none of the features, which the tide of so many centuries and the misfortunes of so wide dispersions have not at all worn out from the descendants of Israel, is amazing. The greatest human characters have savored of the soil where they grew. So free was Christ from all national idiosyncrasy, as to be beyond criticism the type of all excellence, so little of peculiar idiom in his speech, that, translated into all tongues, it embraces the common idea and sentiment of the human mind. That born of proverbially the narrowest of all races, he should have shown such enlargement; that, growing up mid prejudices against all the world, which make Greek and Roman contempt of barbarians seem insignificant, he should have embraced the Gentiles in his plan; that, among the bitterest local hatreds he should have rooted such universal love to men,— and right against such exclusive ceremonial piety have set forth the so purely spiritual worship of God, — this unmodelled, unmatched character, to which earth gave no sustenance, is a moral miracle; especially when we observe that it is Christ's alone. It has been said, great men are born in clusters; and history justifies the remark. But Christ had no peers, — he was the whole constellation. The great men of science, such as Bacon and Newton, had predecessors who almost anticipated their discoveries. But the world travelled not by such easy steps to Christ. It is a favorite idea of modern philosophy, that distinguished persons are but representatives of their age. Christ was no such representative. The loftiest characters of one age have, each in his own department, been outstripped by successors. Christ has never been outstripped; forever "lifted up," — he has set forever the type of excellence none beside have reached.

And again, while his character is divine in its contrast with others, it is so too in its own union and balance of all excellences. There is no cardinal virtue absent, no nicer line of gentleness wanting. Genuine goodness had appeared in many a

Hebrew and Heathen before him, — but to his, it was as the twilight and the morning to the noon-day sun. It has been said, without proof, that all his precepts can be gathered by a general ransacking of all the systems and records of antiquity. What a eulogy on the New Testament, — that there is no term of comparison for it but the distilled essence of the world's history! But where are these precepts to be found in such living harmony of word and deed? Is method, vitality, example, nothing? — Even good tendencies become vices, carried to excess and enthusiasm. What calmness breathed over his soul, and bound in its matchless proportions! One good quality appears, though it is not incompatible with another in the same character. How Jesus reconciled all the oppositions of beauty with boldness, — sweetness with plainness, — cheerfulness with strictness! The best men have but their good points, — and the purest their faults. Whence that character combining all excellences and excluding all blemishes, but from the overflowing inspiration of God?

But we must go a step further. What was the principle of this glorious poise and harmony? Here again we come to the supernatural. The positive qualities of Christ's character seem but the effusion of an exhaustless spiritual fountain, and an overflowing divine grace. His virtue was not struggling and elaborate. Though tempted in all points, there seems to have been no hesitation or contest in his sinless resistance. Yet let it not be said he is therefore no example,—for who can tell the cost of pain in body, mental suffering, heart-breaking anguish, at which he gained his instant victories, — in his moral will the peace of infinite power, in his natural frame often bitter distress. And the pang of some trials is keener in proportion to the exaltation of the character, — as in that of all his friends forsaking him to solitary sweating as of blood, and unshared ignominy, which probably, rather than death, was the cup he for once prayed might pass from him. But we must say further, we do not regard him as an example merely, but a standard of every virtuous perfection. After philosophy's long-wandering speculations upon virtue, and questionings of its reality, we think it was worthy of God to give, as in His own right, a living manifestation of entire spiritual excellence. Every man has his own moral, as well as intellectual nature. Christ surely had his. We know not what higher orders of being may exist in God's dominion — and to our mind, Christ stands alone upon

earth. We cannot class him. His character is "of its own kind." His name may be studiously assembled in the list with geniuses and sages, — but it will not do, — it stands more alone in its sudden contrast with them, than when itself only is mentioned. Nor does this separate elevation hinder Christ's attraction to our spirit. If, like Bunyan's Christian Pilgrim, I can see the "celestial city" from afar, and "hear all the bells ring therein," shall I stop maintaining I will not proceed, till I know that all its inhabitants arrived by the way I am going? And shall I refuse to advance towards this high splendor of spiritual glory in Christ, till I can trace every step he took to the sacred summit? — or by the dangers of pitfall and precipice, if need be, myself press on to the blessed station for which I long. The nature and principle of Christ's excellence was to make him "the image of the invisible God," — and as we call God not virtuous, but good, there was an essential moral beauty in Christ. Yet we may aspire to that divine love we so often name with unmeaning lips, whose reality, the inward principle of our Lord's character, in its immeasurableness can be accounted for only by the unlimited inspiration of God. We have but one more remark in proof that Christ's character was supernatural, — that he makes and claims this explanation of it himself, — with inimitable beauty speaking of himself, in the third person as "him whom the Father hath sanctified and sent." In view of this and much other language, how can we make him a mere man, but at the expense of his own veracity? Rousseau and Voltaire, the two modern chiefs of infidelity, have admitted such a greatness in Jesus, as to show their own inconsistency in questioning his supernatural claims.

Once more, we argue for the supernatural character of our religion from its standing monuments. For every effect we must assign an adequate cause. As the only account of the world is God's power, so the only account of the spiritual creation of Christianity is God's commission. As when we find marine shells on some lofty heights, we conclude those hill-tops must once have met the ocean-tides, so we can explain these, not fossil, but living remains of our religion only by a spiritual flood. One of these relics is the New Testament, not only standing, but geometrically gaining power through so many ages, with its glorious ideas enriching all minds, and exalting all literature, making the loftiest strains of imagination seem but inspirations from its own thoughts of immortality and God, — a book, whose

character infidels can explain only by supposing it the purified extract of all the foregone wisdom of the world. We have heard remarks which seemed to equalize it with the obscure creeds of oriental religions, — but this was made safe only by the speaker's forbearing all strict comparison. When the most famous of these, the Mohammedan Koran, is really read in connexion with the New Testament, the difference is seen to be as vast and inexpressible as that between Christ and an ancient sage. There is something savoring, with a strange sweetness, of antique lore, in boldly pronouncing Zoroaster and Confucius with our Lord's name; but when the teachings of these men are investigated, the charm suddenly fades, and the mind feels it has been imposed upon. To understand the whole superiority of the Bible, we must indeed have something of the same spirit to interpret it, in which it was penned. When Celsus said he found nothing in Scripture, he could not find as well in the philosophers and poets, it was replied, Celsus had not the true spirit in which to read Scripture.

It might be shown that the institutions of Christianity, as well as its books, imply a superhuman origin. It is a remarkable fact, that before the times of the church we are told of no hospitals, almshouses, or public refuges for the sick and aged, as existing among the wisest and most valiant nations, with all their political and military splendor. Tenderness to the poor and infirm on any extensive scale, and as a matter of principle, may almost be said to be a virtue revealed by Christianity. The rude crucifix planted through the Christian centuries at the monastery's door is no unmeaning emblem. And well may the world date, by "the year of our Lord," a new chronology. And what shall be said of the standing monuments of churches? Shall the countries, over which they have spread, the minds, on which they have taken hold, the influences they exert, the hopes they inspire, be compared with those embraced by the mosque or pagoda? It has been said a noble church uplifts the mind like a grand poem. Can the associations, whence its power comes, be traced to any other origin than the special communion of God and effusion of the Holy Spirit? What Christianity has done incidentally to its great object of saving the soul, in impulse to the human mind, purifying human affection, exalting woman to her true sphere, spreading great ideas of peace, temperance, freedom, and reforming civil policy, points to its divine origin. The tremendous odds between the Jew-

ish carpenter and his Jewish fishermen have sometimes been vividly described, yet their victory left unaccounted for, except by the natural powers of the mind, while the only sufficient cause, in a miraculous divine help, was completely slurred. But there are more glorious monuments still, spiritual temples, whose building, infinitely transcending any other work ever carried on in human hearts, rising in God's children here, and not finished in his saints in light,—with unimaginable glory, — could have been begun only by that supernatural power, by whose aid it is still carried on. At least such is the testimony of the regenerate themselves, if their witness in a matter of personal experience is to be received. They refer all their attainment to their faith in Christ's supernatural commission and its guardian Spirit, the promised comforter. Account for the standing monuments of Christianity without miracle, and you leave them a miracle to be accounted for.

We derive our last argument from the nature of the human mind, which is so constituted as to expect and welcome miraculous interpositions. The mind feels the never varied procession of effects to be an imprisoning dome. It is a relief to it, when the arm of that God it believes in comes forth, for good cause, to reverse it. We could not have a more striking evidence here than the anticipation some ancient sages had, that a supernatural revelation might sometime resolve the doubts with which they were distressed. And while to these are added the greatest modern names, such as Milton and Locke, who believed in Christianity as supernatural, it cannot be said, the fondness for miracles is confined to low intellects or a vulgar age. When we see moreover how readily, with some exceptions, the multitude of men accept miracles as the proper testimonials of a divine communication, the argument seems complete. This natural welcome the human mind gives to the miraculous will render forever futile, for any general influence, the slights some may cast upon Christ's mighty works. In controversy, distinguished authors, such as Jonathan Edwards, have been quoted as rating low the argument for miracles, because they so exalted the internal evidences of Christianity; but it would be easy to show how unfairly they are represented, by quoting other parts of their writings, in which the necessity of miracles is maintained. The true philosophy of human nature shows that miracles are not monstrous, but the fit food of the human mind.

On a subject so sifted, our arguments may have little novelty to many of our readers; we can only plead we have presen-

ted them as they freshly strike our own mind. And we must now be allowed to say, that it becomes those, who dissent from the commonly received view of Christianity, instead of publicly accusing Christians of making an idol of Christ, instead of denouncing in general terms the institutions they prize, instead of scornfully calling them back to a purely intuitive religion, to meet these arguments, and do something to earn the title of rational they assume. It is not a mystic, rashly generalizing eloquence, — omitting all notice of the points of the case, — it is not a poor contempt, boldly poured on logical reasoning and the human understanding, it is not a despising of the lessons of History and past experience, that, in the view of sensible and good men, will dispose of this impregnable bulwark, this fourfold fortification of miracle, inspiration, the law of cause and effect, and the religious nature of the human mind, standing in defence of the supernatural origin of Christianity.

But supernaturalism itself sometimes transgresses its proper limits to trespass on those of rationalism. We propose in what remains to speak of relative errors of each to the other in this respect, and finally of the mutual harmony, in their true estate, of both. And first, supernaturalism becomes false by being exclusive and extreme. Scripture itself appeals not to miracle only, but to Nature and reason also, represents God reasoning with man's mind while commanding his will, testifies that His eternal power and godhead are declared by His works, and implies that miracle itself, instead of being the sensual argument some call it, requires a measure of faith and moral power to appreciate it! — for Christ wrought not mighty works in scenes of gross unbelief, regarding them as wasted on the unspiritual. The unspiritual regard miracles with stupid wonder, but the spiritual, while recognising their evidence, require no ingenious illustrations, (like that of Mr. Babbage,) to show they violate not *His* Law, whose will they express.

The chief thing men's minds seem now dimly groping after in religion is the point of union between the supernatural and the rational. Many plainly carry supernaturalism to a hurtful excess, making revelation the only source of religious knowledge, and instead of supposing revelation *itself* the effect of a divine commission, illumination, direction of free minds, viewing every speaker and actor in it as mere instruments, with mechanical inspiration of each word and deed, the literal mouth and hand of God. Like that old class of interpreters, who found a

momentous meaning in the corner of a Hebrew letter, they detect in every clause and figure in the Bible a special divine dogma, of which the human mind must be the unreasoning receptacle. This view we think open to several grave objections.

And first, it makes Nature a mere machine, — identifying as it does everything religious with the supernatural. Nature is God's precisely as much as Revelation; nor can be disparaged with less impiety. "God speaketh once, yea, twice," the voices of both chime together; and when that of the soul is joined, we have the full chord in the glorious chant of Creation's praise. And natural events equally with sacred history express the divine attributes. The peculiarity of miracle is not that it is greater than any other work of God, but that it stands somewhat differently related to the mind. This reaction of the all-moving hand, though violating no laws but in reference to our experience of the world's order, yet marks a special Almighty word. And the skepticism, that denies anything special can be said under such a seal, denies God the privilege of express communication with His creatures, — which savors of impiety, if not of Atheism.

Yet miracle, though holding this great office, robs not Nature of her honor. Natural religion remains the basis of revealed. Had not religion its solid foundation on earth, the word from heaven would waste, without an echo, in the air. Great too is Nature's direct religious bounty to all generations. She feeds the body with her minutiæ, but with her immensities the soul. She wakes the mind in the morning of its powers, clothes with shining imagery and symbolic speech its greatest ideas, gives clearness to its original perceptions of the infinite and eternal, and points it to its Author in prayer, herself seeming to be "breathless with adoration." She applies intellect and imagination with endless materials of thought and beauty; all which is probably but what Locke means in his so called sensual philosophy. Nature is the soul's educator, representing in her forms all its powers and tendencies. Like the repeated line in some Hebrew poetry, is her parallelism to the mind, as "she weaves the living clothing" of its Inspirer. It is not enough to say, we rise through Nature up to Nature's God. She is more than a ladder to Him, even a receptacle of His presence and love. Science, with all its astonishing triumphs, has made but the thinnest section in her sphere. With our chemic detection of simple substances, geologic opening of the earth's crusts, and at

length our watching, according to the disclosures of modern astronomy, the very process of creation in the stars of heaven, we seem to imagine we are mastering the universe, — when all this is but as the small frost that has fallen in a night on the unfathomable works of God, the religious imagination exulting as it sees the thin nebulæ of new worlds still skirting the utmost range of human vision, while the mysterious unknown is left as much as ever to be understood only by the heart's wonder and praise. But now if one, "in a fine frenzy" that he has an eye for this great picture, will make Nature the only source of religious teaching, he is in another extreme. Recoiling from the extreme supernatural view, some appear at times to retreat full upon the old ground of Nature worship. Nature is no machine but an ever shining manifestation, as the sunbeam of the Sun, of her source. And yet to our eyes she seems but a dim remote transcript of those divine glories, which shine direct in the face of Jesus Christ. Her teachings are often indefinite. Christianity authenticates the lessons of Nature, adds to them new ones, sanctions with infinite motive all, gives an anchor to the wandering mind, and in the restless sea of its speculation points to a fixed load-star above the world.

The next objection to exclusive supernaturalism is, that it makes revelation a mere scheme. It regards Christ and his apostles as channels of words, whose literal force, drawn out with grammar and lexicon alone by a prose-logic, made rigid in creeds, and enforced by penalties, is the sum of revelation. It thus makes salvation the technical result of external means, instead of a spiritual development under appointed influences. It makes Scripture a minute contrivance, instead of an overflow of the divine spirit, and a resplendent representation of spiritual life. Christianity is doubtless a system of doctrines, but was never designed to be pressed into the mould of obligatory creeds, and, with every shifting of men's passions and fancies, made the parent of endless sectarianism and dispute. Into how gross errors respecting God's character, Christ's offices, and man's native state, has the killing letter of interpretation led. The spiritual reading of the Bible shows a connexion of truths, which, as they are seen to lie in thought, are well nigh the same with all believers, though every attempt to put them into precise expression kindles the strife about words afresh. One secret of the power of revelation is the spirituality and infinity of its truths and laws. Therefore it has not been out-

grown. Were it the mere scheme the controversialist pretends, it would have been outstripped and left behind ages ago. Human creeds suppose God would bind the soul to his will. But there are many indications that He desires not to subject man even to Himself. He will own no slaves. In nature, revelation, and the soul alike, He ever seems to retire from view. He shelters the soul all about, as a delicate plant, from foreign intrusions, even from the too awful coming in of his own might. Thus the difficulties, against which Butler guards revelation by showing equal ones in nature, appear to have from God Himself a worthy end in both, — to quicken his children's minds. He would have them reverently act as of themselves, and therefore gives them stints, goes out to tempt them to follow on their own wings, fixes knotty points for them to untie with their own reasoning, as a parent or teacher would do. Thus a purpose dawns on those everlasting questions of foreknowledge, free will, divine grace, never yet settled. What an amount of power, intellectual and moral, they have brought out! The primal duties shine aloft as stars, but it is a beneficial stimulus to thought to leave room for discussion on many minor points of argument and illustration; not thus to break the bond of charity, but to nourish that mental life which gives to charity its sweetness. All this freedom of discussion, for which God Himself has thus provided, is shut out, when Christianity is viewed as a mere contrivance and scheme metaphysically finished, when learned theologians tell us how all its parts nicely meet for effect, and by the use of what admirable logic, necessary in every link, the divine mind would prove to itself its ability to be merciful without the compromise of justice. Christianity has a perfect wisdom of adaptation. But over-curiously tracing this, men run into groundless fancies, impose arbitrary plans on God, lose the grand ideas with which He lights the sacred page, while each party, in anxious defence of its own shibboleth, excludes all but the favored few from heaven.

The last fault we mention of an extreme supernaturalism is, that it makes the human soul a mere automaton, as we have already implied. It lays a harsh bondage on reason and conscience. It pretends that the principles of revelation are so exact, that there is no business of consultation with reason and conscience to do. We might argue against this view from the honest differences of opinion, from the equally shining char-

acters in every trait of excellence under all these differences, and from the very nature of language and the human mind. But we would further draw an argument from analogy. It is unlikely God would lay on us such a chain in revelation, for He has not done it in nature or in the soul. We have said, it is as little reverential to Him to disparage nature as revelation; we add, it is as impious to abuse the soul as either; for whose growth both were ordained. God is the inspirer of reason and conscience, nor can in his word contradict Himself by denying their immediate perceptions, or torturing them with absurd dogmas and unrighteous commands. Nay, they must fain interpret and accept all of his word which remains not a blank. And if He will not enslave these glorious powers by his own action, far less does He allow to some of his creatures the privilege of spiritual domination over others. To this domination we implore of Him an end. Surely God Himself will never make a subject of the soul, for thus He would contravene his own purpose, and abdicate his own glory. For where is the great glory of his power? Is it in the laying down of this vast platform of material splendor? or in the inspiring of free souls to grow forever in knowledge, and excellence, and likeness to Himself? From this free expansion all virtue, humility, worship, love, derives its charm. What spectacle is comparable to that of the soul's offer to God of its voluntary worship, self-devotion, and love!

Is it asked, what shall be done in case of a contradiction between the written word and the soul? They, whose superstition would falsely exalt the Bible, and they whose spiritualism would break its authoritative hold, may equally create such contradiction; but in a true interpretation no contradiction exists. The Bible contradicts not man's reason, conscience, and love, but only his passion, disobedience, and alienation from God, his conceit, and vanity, and folly. When he reads the precepts of the sacred page he confesses, he resolves; and lowliness gathers over his frame and features, as he scans those other lines, he wrote not, on the fleshly tables of his heart. Thus an exclusive supernaturalism chokes the three great sources and "sacred rivers" of religious information, — Nature, Revelation, and the Soul. Nature's great mass ministers to bodily sense, but, as if to show the mind's immense superiority, stands for its instruction alone. Revelation explains nature's "dark parables," and the soul supplies infinite thoughts

and monitions, that shine down through her firmament from the "Father of lights." "What God hath joined, let no man put asunder."

But rationalism also is made exclusive and extreme. Reason must have the reading of everything offered for her acceptance, and judge of its origin and use. Even the document sealed as divine, it must study and interpret, draw forth in its pure meaning, from the circumstances of history and the "respect of persons," compare it with nature's "elder Scripture," and with the "law written in the heart," while from the whole examination it infers the divine will to apply to all the relations of life. But when the mind says, that, setting aside the pleading of God's authority, it can supply all its needs from its own resources, we must deem this a false and hurtful rationalism. Its first fault is, that it ascribes too much to the mind's power of abstract perception. There are first principles, which the mind, well developed, must perceive in its own light, or not at all, — intuitions of the true, right, good, beautiful, — the infinite, absolute, perfect, God; — though these we doubtless see not in their essence, but through spiritual media. The mind, well developed, must perceive too in itself the obligation to seek the true, obey the right, love the good, admire the beautiful, worship God; though how generally, without revelation, both classes of these perceptions have been sadly dim, we need not say, — that is, how seldom, without revelation, the mind has been well developed. But there is a further step, in which, whatever some may claim, most intelligent and spiritually minded persons confess their intuitions at fault. What is the divine intention respecting the soul He has so richly endowed? Is its fate bound up with that of its material companion, or shall it mount over the ruins of its house of clay? This fact in futurity the mind's intuition cannot see, — for minds, the illuminations of the world, aver they have not seen it. As we have already said, powerful *arguments* may be made for a future life, all whose links clear heads in severe thought may trace, — though here again minds transcended by none have confessed themselves at a loss. But skepticism from the time of the old Sadducees has brought up no despicable arguments on the other side. On other questions too, as we have before intimated, reason has greatly stumbled, — such as the conditions of the divine forgiveness, the perfect law of morals, the supreme good of the soul, and the highest idea of

character,— questions, which, anxiously debated by the finest spirits of all ages, we must think it worthy of God to settle by a revelation. If, indeed, as some would claim, intuition is to the mind what the eye is to the body, a revelation of truth is no more requisite than a revelation of geography. And here is one melancholy implication of the view we oppose, that it makes a revelation from God superfluous, and, if He has given one, charges Him with supererogation and vain repetition. It makes Christianity "much ado about nothing," — language which, however it may be shrunk from, is not without its parallel.

But if intuition and simple argument fail, on many points, to satisfy the mind, what does philosophy, in the large sense, accomplish? Philosophy is an honorable name. The soul is greatly in her debt. Inseparable from religion and morality, she gives their doctrines and precepts a stable foundation in the mind. The Greek philosophy has well been called, like the Jewish law, a school-master to bring men to Christ. Yet philosophy, so called, has often ostentatiously questioned the great truths of religion. And there is a philosophy, wise in its own conceit, a foolish gnosticism, troubling the Church not only in its early times, but ever since, which carries the soul away from that very sense of humility and weakness, out of which the incense of worship ascends. "Ignorance is" not "the mother of devotion;" but man and angel will ever be taught by the knowledge of their ignorance to adore. And what is philosophy doing now? We thank her for precious contributions, made with reverent hand, as she bowed before the Incomprehensible, to the altar of God. But in her late attempt to dispense with all helps but of her own analysis, what has been the result? Verily another tower of Babel, and another confusion of tongues. It is in Germany that the great problems have been most patiently grappled. Every succeeding system, we are willing to be assured, is a monument of intellectual ingenuity; but who will reconcile for us the sharp disputes and amazing inconsistencies of each one with nearly all the rest? The quarrels of sects are magnified by the rationalist and skeptic. But have any or all the recent systems of this philosophy made any comparable approach to spreading the unity of faith and feeling on any religious truth, which Christianity, among millions, through ages, has spread on all great religious truths? Truly it was not a senseless

warning which Bacon, the great author of the modern philosophical method, gives against philosophy invading the peculiar province of religion. Truly Paul's text has not spent its force, in which he puts his converts on their guard, lest any man should "spoil them through philosophy." Philosophy, when modest, is a good helpmate of religion; but when she would conquer the world of truth, and by grace allow such province as she will to religion, she seems smitten with penal blindness, and inarticulate speech. One reason why her high-vaulting ambition has overleaped itself is, that, by the entirely disproportionate speculative action of the intellect, she has broken the healthy balance of the mind. Truth has been defined the harmony of the divine attributes. The greatest truth we can reach, then, lies in the largest proportion of our powers. What, like the doctrine and sanction of Christianity, has moved the springs of spiritual integrity?

We here touch on the second error of rationalism in its extreme, — that it cultivates one or more faculties at the expense of others. The mind is a unity with various powers, as the life is a unity with many organs. To think one or two powers will help our progress better than all, is like thinking we could best walk or work with part only of the muscular system. The intuition of first principles lays a sure foundation of knowledge. But we have also observation, understanding, memory, reflection, generalization; and the defects of our own experience we supply from others' testimony. Much of the evidence for Christianity is in the nature of testimony; it is not strange one who thinks lightly of testimony, should think lightly of Christianity. Now all these powers bear their warrant with them; so God has made us. It is impiety to despise our own frame, — high treason to break the commission of any faculty; the unfolding of all is the idea of the perfect man. But some have mutilated the mind, and made intuition itself false, because overstrained, — while in this monstrous development they glory, and accuse dissenters from them as intellectually depraved. Alas, the insane know not their insanity, but think the sober insane, — so is it with the unbalanced mind. Hence many have mournfully launched, — we speak with unfeigned sorrow, — into abysses of vanity, arrogance, contempt, folly; into a furious intolerance, while complaining of others' intolerence; into unworthy inuendoes, while enjoying the magnanimity of truth; into bitter sneers, while extolling the supremacy

of love. At such times words must be plain. Liberality must not be basely transmuted into courtly dealing, into a soft-lipped, assenting, acquiescing politeness, — into a cowardly dread lest disapproval of sin should be called persecution for opinion's sake, — into a craven shunning of explicitness in the expression of conviction, — into any mode of preferring a compliment to the truth. We are not ashamed to say we withhold not a warm esteem from some who might smile at all our views; but we must strive to make our picture true. We are prepared to believe what so many have said of our living in an extraordinary age. Never was the consideration of moral law so paramount, in "open vision," as now. But our conscience seems slightly crazed. Some, instead of acting rigorously out the monitions of conscience, turn ever round to a sickly toying with the sense of duty. And how many prefer to use the outer rather than the inner side of that two-edged sword, God has put in every spirit, — in blows of vengeance, instead of smitings of self-reproach. It is indeed to the partial culture, on which we have remarked, that we seem to owe the vigor and brilliance, we readily admit in much of the religious literature of the day. It derives strength from narrowness, and a certain life from disease. It shows splendid prismatic hues, but not the white beam of the sun; or, to vary the figure, the sharp blaze of the morning, without the comprehensive light of day. It is highly poetic, — much of its prose being poetry, to which intuition so much contributes. Much of it in the theological strain has indeed no want of a kind of method in its madness; and while in style, mystical, vague, transient, glancing from topic to topic, it draws in objectionable matter and unproved conclusions in a clause, a parenthesis, or a hint; thus rendering them irrefutable, because unassailable in their giddy and misty position. It often shows not the respect to established opinion of stating why it differs, or of clearly laying open its own grounds. A distinguished foreigner once predicted, that youthful irreverence would be one danger in the career of our new country. The prophecy is fulfilled. We are devoured with conceit; in some of its specimens incredible. We know there are obstinate and prejudiced persons, who can give no reason for the faith that is in them, in the conservative part of society, but must think the most glaring faults are among the extreme innovators, and that there is no fear of any established institution or professional class being spoiled by flattery.

We are, however, in no alarm as to the issue. Better storm than stagnancy. Those waters heal which are stirred. Moreover we dread practical heresy far more than theoretical, — and are more concerned about the fate of men than Christianity.

Withal the prevailing Transcendentalism is not without a good influence. It breaks up spiritual slumber and dead formalism, while its own vices are of a spiritual cast. When its crude exaggeration is spent, it may leaven the whole lump. It possesses two distinct classes of minds, — the ideal and the superficial. The first live in it as in their native element; and they need to cultivate the practical traits of observation, clear reasoning, and real sympathy with their fellow-men. The second conscientiously conceive of it as a needful supplement to their merely practical thoughts and affections; the subsiding turbulence will give them fertility. Let us not leave our criticism of the faults of individuals narrow and unjust, by not confessing the purity and piety of other individuals, or of the same. Though we blame their excesses, and oppose their principles as they state them, we like no more than they, arbitrary or conventional views in religion, and trust whatever evil may be laid at their door, their mission will be to spiritualize the too hard and literal Christianity that is common, and make the religion of Jesus a truer and more sanctifying principle to many souls.

The last error we shall mention of an extreme rationalism is its total unfitness to the mass of mankind; which alone must forever prevent its taking the place of the New Testament. A few, by the force of spiritual genius and refined culture, may reach the rapt and blissful state, where they breathe an ever lucid atmosphere in their own thought. And many more, always as now, will weakly pretend to have reached it. Numbers will lose health of mind and moral soundness by this affectation. Some will delight to find in startling doctrines a vent for their native pride and daring, and love of notoriety. Still others, by mere preponderance of speculation, will leave their affections untrained, and their passions a howling waste. Have we not seen, that a man may understand and describe the whole nature of religion in history and the human mind, yet be "to every good work reprobate?" But *mankind* in their instability, pine for an authority they can respect, to lean upon. In daily thanks from countless altars, the great heart of hu-

manity confesses, that in the Gospel its wants are met. A principle of loyalty too, stirs, never extinct, in the human breast, and God through Christ, gives men a glorious law for their allegiance, blending with the command within, and leading to true freedom; gives them in their doubt, toil, pain, grief, a resource. Well for those whose mountain stands strongest, if they never need this resource, — if in the power of human wisdom alone, they can breast the waves of trouble, and stand with untrembling heart by the side of their friends' graves, and on the brink of their own! If *they* can, *mankind* cannot. They need, more than the abstract systems that have often so little ruled their framers, even the living truth, as it is in Jesus. The concrete engages their attention, the formal takes hold of their affection, the symbolic interests their imagination, the authoritative moves their will. So the Creator has made them. Let but the doctrine, form, symbol, authority, be true, expressive, beautiful, just, such as we have under the seal of God. It is sometimes said to be harder to decide on the claims of a revelation than to learn the whole will of God from within. This is a question of fact and of numbers, which need not be argued. And when we consider, that the Bible was not written for ingenious minds, but for all God's children, we respect what may be called the plain, obvious sense of Scripture, as containing every important element of truth.

In fine, true rationalism and spirituralism, with a true supernaturalism, agree. Rationalism welcomes the supernatural, for one element of the human mind is a love of the superhuman and expectation of the miraculous, which therefore amazes it not when amazing it the most, especially when it finds the teachings of miracle cordially harmonizing with its best thoughts, anticipations, and desires. So a true supernaturalism affirms, the divine miracles were not designed for overwhelming portents, but for the soul's edification in all faith, virtue, and joy. Thus both these great influences, free from the hostility in which some have narrowly placed them, conspire to help on the soul to that world, where it will no more need the remedial dispensations here so mercifully vouchsafed; but where, in the presence of its God, it shall see as it is seen, and know as it is known.

C. A. B.

ART. V. — *Monaldi: A Tale.* By W. ALLSTON. Boston: Little & Brown. 1841. 12mo. pp. 253.

How many, unacquainted with the minor graceful effusions from the same mind, will take up this volume from an unmingled feeling of curiosity to see how the first painter of the age will write! How many, to whom the author's name speaks only of his favorite art, and who know nothing of him beyond what they have learned from his pencil, will here seek to read something of the man! And who can write, without pouring something of his own true nature even through the very pages, where he delineates characters most unlike his own, and describes scenes, in which he could never have been an actor? We believe that they who lay down Monaldi, thrilling with its intense interest, will feel that its spirit is in harmony with that which breathes from the other productions of the same right hand, as they glow and speak to us from the canvass. The same order of intellect and taste is revealed in all. It is high, it is imaginative. The genius of Allston deals both with the strong and the beautiful qualities of our nature. It gives us vice in all its repulsiveness, without soiling our imaginations with its grossness; and it gives us beauty and virtue in all their quiet natural loveliness, as if the atmosphere in which they abide were its true home.

We have been particularly struck with finding on Allston's page, as usually on his canvass, so few characters. We like this trait of family resemblance between his various works, as such; and as indicating a peculiarity and consistency. This paucity of characters in the tale before us does not suggest any thought of meagre invention, or want of power to deal with a more numerous "dramatis personæ." It gives a simplicity to the production, which is in itself a grace; and the manner in which the characters and fates of these few individuals are sketched and wrought up into a tale that rivets the reader, and, — which is the glory of the whole, — leaves him with its solemn moral vibrating through his soul, is worthy of the master's hand. We know that the great and long anticipated picture now stealing slowly forth from the recesses of his soul in sacred solitude, its birth unmarked by profane eyes, is of a totally different character; but who that looks on his smaller paintings can wish another face, or form, or object introduced? Who

that reads Monaldi will not feel that a single character more must have been superfluous, and would have marred the whole? The passions with which the plot is woven are of the novelist's time-honored stock; for naught else but the passions, that have been human since the world began, can the writer of fiction use. Love and Jealousy, the most commonplace of all materials for highly wrought fiction, especially when the scene is laid in Southern Europe, seem to be the very warp and woof of this tale. But our author has something higher in view than illustrations of these Protean but common sentiments. The shadows which lie so deep on the creatures of his fancy, and darken into so gloomy a catastrophe, fall from the clouds of passion and sin; Love and Jealousy mingle only partially with them their own changeful sunlight and gloom. Selfishness, running into despotism over the whole man, absolutely swaying one who scarcely suspects himself its slave, giving terrible force to every impulse of a violent nature, is here the parent of many of the worst horrors. The envy of him whose selfish ambition has been withered by disappointment, and the recklessness of a hardened libertine, showing how the soul is blighted by sensuality, — these work out the misery of the innocent as well as their own fearful retribution.

The two principal persons of the tale were, in their boyhood, schoolmates and friends. One — Maldura — is distinguished by talents and success while pursuing his studies, urged on by the thirst for praise, and burning to win admiration rather than any solid good. The other — Monaldi — is unambitious, modest, loving all things worthy for their own sakes, and unvisited by distinction in this early literary career. These two beings, so unlike in much that appears and much that lies hid in the bosom, in outward lot and inward motive, form a mutual attachment, and as observation of early intimacies shows us, not an unnatural one on account of these differences. And what follows is that which frequently occurs in real life; for who can predict of the collegian what his standing and literary reputation shall be in after life? — The friends part as they enter the world, and are still more completely separated by the unexpected reversal of their destinies. The ambitious Maldura aims at being the celebrated man of letters; but the glittering star which had seemed to shine over his youth, so full of promise, fades suddenly. He is astounded and overwhelmed by a total failure. Accustomed, as he had been in his earlier studies,

to distinction, loving it with a selfish love above all things else, ignorant that the world without or within can offer any substitute either in active benevolence or noble self-discipline, mortified and soured, he leads an objectless and obscure life.

In the mean time, the pure-minded, unambitious Monaldi, obeying the genuine dictates of his soul, becomes a painter. He loves his profession for its own sake, and becomes eminent. Fame and prosperity come to him unsought, but cannot spoil him. Love, too, weaves a rosy chaplet for one whose affections are mingled with no base alloy, and he marries the very woman who had rejected the suit of Maldura because she could not love him. Well it was for her that she could not, for it must be sad for a tender and single-hearted woman to bestow her whole affections on the worldly wise, who give but half a heart at best in requital. The selfish eye of Maldura had marked many advantages which would attend a union with Rosalia. Her image was not alone in its loveliness before him, but surrounded by phantoms of greatness and distinction which lured him no less.

Monaldi knows nothing of his friend's disappointment. After years of separation he finds him in utter obscurity, and soon loses sight of him again. At last, from the lips of a stranger, Maldura learns that Monaldi, the painter, whose fame has long filled him with surprise, anger, and envy, is the happy husband of Rosalia Landi. And now the narrow soul becomes filled with bitterness. The nature which grows not better as years roll on, must grow worse, and so it had been with the sullen misanthrope. He was now capable of that from which he would once have shrunk, for his power of hating had been cultivated, and his disappointed, hopeless selfishness, bursting once more into action, prompts him like a demon. With the most refined cruelty, he aims not at the life of either of the happy pair, but at their domestic bliss, their mutual confidence, the life of their pure affections. He employs a noted profligate, from whose soul all purity, humanity, and goodness of every kind had been eaten out by sensuality; and with their diabolical stratagems they succeed too well. The loving and sensitive artist is deceived and wrought into a fury of jealousy. He poinards his innocent wife, and then assured of her innocence by her own lips as the life blood streams from her bosom, he rushes from his house and the haunts of men, a pitiable maniac. This is beyond all the misery which Maldura himself had devised or designed to inflict. He is struck with horror and compunction,

which bring into his bosom more torture than he had meant for others. Suddenly, however, he learns that Rosalia's wound had not been mortal; surgical skill had saved her life, but Monaldi is no more to be found. A part of Maldura's wo is removed, but he still wanders wretched through Italy, till he unexpectedly finds the poor wretch whom he had driven to insanity. He lavishes every care upon his victim, and believing that reason has returned, sends for Rosalia. She arrives with her father. Maldura himself communicates to his friend the fact, that she lives, and urged on by the irresistible bidding of a roused conscience, tells the story of his own baseness. This scene is wrought up with great power. No sooner does the knowledge of his friend's guilt flash upon the mind of Monaldi, than a fatal paroxysm ensues, his reason is hopelessly dethroned, and the punishment of Maldura is complete. Rosalia, in the saddest species of widowhood, passes the remainder of her days near the husband whom even a ruined intellect cannot compel her to desert.

The scene of these events being laid in Italy, we find passion more intense and action more violent than may seem probable to us, dwellers under a colder sky. But we know that the annals of domestic life, in that beautiful, ill-fated country, are as full of tragedy as her political history; and we bring no charge of extravagance against the author of this highly wrought tale. That it would be wholesome for any mind to indulge freely in such reading we cannot believe. It would be like the rich spices in the daily food of the epicure.

But we have much for which to thank Mr. Allston. We thank him not only for the pleasure he has given us, but for something better. He has given us a book which has a distinct and obvious moral object. It is meant to inculcate a useful, a religious lesson, and it does so. Would that the press had no power to send out any work which had not this blessing upon it! so should the deluge of tales and romances abate not a little, and those who waste their time and sensibilities on this species of literature would read with less injury.

There is a beautiful spirit pervading the work, uttering itself in many detached sentiments, which show the author's observation of human nature, and the heart with which he regards it. But this spirit is most completely given to us in the character of the heroine; and we think it no small thing to have before us an Allston's conception of *moral* female loveliness! Ro-

salia is to us captivating beyond most of her sisters in the fairy-land of romance. Her innocence stands out in fine contrast with the depravity of Fialto, her disinterestedness with the horrid selfishness of Maldura, and above all her confiding unsuspiciousness with the jealousy of her husband. She is too pure and too trusting even to suspect that she is suspected — how natural in such stainless virtue! We cannot refrain from giving one beautiful out-pouring of her conjugal affection, as an illustration of her whole angelic character.

"I have sometimes thought," said Rosalia, "and I hope without pride, that the very bad would not know such bliss; nay, a love, like mine. For, could I love thee so, pure and exalted as thou art, did I love evil? I could not; I should then love myself and thee only as ministering to my selfishness. No! the love I bear thee is but the effluence of thy virtues given back to myself; and it seems to elevate me, to refine my heart for the love of Him who is purest, best, — who is Goodness."

These are not the sentiments of love as a passion, which, even when hallowed by nuptial bond and benediction, is no honor to woman. She, who finds them echoed from her own bosom, may trust the test and feel that hers is a heart worthy of a good man's acceptance. How far removed from the spirit expressed in

> "I know not, I ask not, if guilt's in that heart,
> I but know that I love thee, whatever thou art!"

We thank Mr. Allston too for having shunned all modern affectations in style, all mingling of half-German jargon with pure English, all mysticism and idle speculation, which it is often our hard lot to find where we least looked for them. And the religion, virtue, excellence, that he would hold up to us, are of that simple, practical beauty, which we have understood so clearly, reverenced so truly, loved so dearly from our childhood; such as we find taught in the Scriptures, and set forth in the life and lessons of Jesus, the very opposite of all unregulated instinct, impulse, and passion. With him religion is "the only unchanging source of moral harmony;" — "the vital faith which mingles with every thought and foreruns every action, ever looking through time to their fruits in eternity;" — "the thirst for what is spiritual, for what belongs to the dim and distant future, preparing in the hour of peace for the hour of temptation."

We can bring beautiful evidence that we are only doing our Author justice, from his own description of Rosalia, a sketch worthy of serious attention and admiration. She is no commonplace novel-heroine whom any school girl may imitate, made up of roses and ringlets, useless sensibilities, and unrestrained enthusiasm, the creature of circumstance or emotion.

"The character of Rosalia was of that nice mixture of softness and firmness which makes the perfection of Woman. The first she derived from nature, the last was the result of principle; and while from the one she was open to every impression of the affections, the regular watchfulness of the other effectually guarded her from all that would not stand its scrutiny. This moral subordination, or just balance between sense and sensibility, not unfrequently subjected her with superficial observers to the imputation of coldness. But hers was the coldness of her better judgment, only occasional and always with a purpose. When her heart was open and with the sanction of her principles, the whole woman gave way at once. It was no doubt the consciousness of this prodigal self-abandonment of the heart, that led her to seek a less fallacious guide than her own sanguine impulses. Happily her father's instructions here came to her aid, and as Landi was a man of sincere piety, it may be readily inferred that the guide she found in them was religion. Hence that high standard of excellence by which she was accustomed to measure all who approached her."

This is indeed the true "perfction of woman." Let us be grateful to one who spares us all minute description of his heroine's form and complexion, to paint the inner beauty of her soul, and then presents a species of moral loveliness which is far from dazzling at once, but which wins upon us, as it would in real life, more and more as we contemplate it. To excite, to be excited, seems in these days to be woman's burning desire, her sole conception of spiritual progress. Let us pray our young countrywomen to study this portrait of calm, dignified, exquisite grace, gleaming upon us in a heavenly light — yet not so etherialized as to be unfit for the earth to which it belongs. And let them copy it as they can.

How far this Tale may be successful in the common acceptation of the word, we know not. It is very unlike the favorites of the day. Allston and Dickens, for instance, are luminaries that move in orbits far apart, yet there are many who may love the light of both; may, and must. We think the literature of this century is strongly marked by variety. There is no com-

mon standard, no Johnsonian or Addisonian model in style; no solitary literary autocrat, like the Edinburgh Review in days of yore, whose awful decisions seal the author's fate, and decide public opinion without a chance for appeal. Every man who takes up the pen chooses matter and manner for himself, without reference to any arbitary rules; so does every woman, we might add. The "republic of letters" is becoming a ramping democracy. We have works in which the good old parts of speech need have the riot act read to them, and these are becoming classics. Readers of all tastes are fed abundantly from the evertoiling press. Among so many rivals we doubt whether Monaldi will be what is called popular, though it be full of power and interest, and win the praise of those whose praise is best worth having. It presents nothing in aspects new as they are true, as human nature appeared to us in Oliver Twist; nor is it of the strictly practical character, which has given such a "run" to some excellent productions on our own side of the water. Yet we may be agreeably disappointed. Who can watch the vane of popularity and wisely predict its veerings? They are as capricious and apparently lawless as the streamings of the Aurora.

In descriptions of scenery — Italian scenery — our artist author is indeed at home, and we feel it a privilege to read all he may introduce of such description, as well as all that has reference to paintings and painters. In sentiment, we find but one passage that compels us to express a dissent, if we understand him aright. He has been giving us a beautiful touch of nature, where, on Monaldi's recovery from his first attack of insanity, his attendants are melted to tears on seeing him once more "open his eyes and speak through them like an intelligent being;" although they were strangers, and might "in other circumstances have been tempted to cheat, slander, or betray the very object of their present compassion." Mr. Allston says, "whether this feeling be called virtuous or not, it is not to be relied on as any evidence of goodness. There is nothing indeed deserving the name, that is not equally so under all circumstances." What an immense proportion of the good that we look upon daily would this strike out! How sadly changed and darkened would be our views of the nature God has given his creatures, if the outbreakings of kindly sympathy and right feeling, which we find so often among the erring, give us no true indication of what that nature is when unassailed by strong or immediate temptation.

We know that the highest virtue is that which, "when opposed to our interest, triumphs over self;" but to deny the name of goodness to all which is spontaneous, springing up in quiet moments when the heart acts freely, to bestow it only on the strong principle, the mighty excellence, which always conquers in the battle with ever-besetting evil, this seems to us a comfortless and unjust scale. It is not consistent with our author's usually cheerful, kind, and right views. We have been accustomed to derive special encouragement, satisfaction, and an augmentation of our religious confidence and charity, from the good deeds done and good impulses manifested even by bad men. They do not prove such to be good men, and cannot stand in the place of habitually virtuous lives; but as far as they go, we must certainly consider them as marks of goodness somewhere; — we are inclined to believe, in man, as well as in God.

The tale has a graceful introduction and conclusion; brief as such portions of any work should be, but worthy of separate mention, for in the former we find one of the most powerful specimens of our author's genius. Monaldi in his madness paints a picture which is described in the introduction, and awakens in us a thrilling interest; the spell is upon us even before we read a single page of the tale itself. It is difficult to forbear extracting this discription, not only on account of its wonderful power, but of its mighty moral, its warning against the fearful attractiveness and monstrous tyranny of Sin. But we do forbear, for we would fain hope it is needless to quote what so many will read in its own place.

We conclude our remarks with the renewed expression of our joy, that one, whose name is to be honored after his gifted hand is mingled with the dust, has wielded both pencil and pen only in ministering to some of the highest and purest tastes of our nature, that he has shown to the world his fine genius seeking to satisfy its aspirations among the spiritualities which Christianity unfolds, doing the homage that becomes him to Truth, Religion, and God.

S. J. H.

ART. VI. — *Two Discourses on the Nature and Province of Natural, Revealed, and Experimental Religion.* By ORVILLE DEWEY, Pastor of the Church of the Messiah, in New York. New York: David Felt & Co. 1841. 8vo. pp. 32.

BELIEVING that the philosophy of the filial heart is higher and of infinitely more worth than that of the doubting head, we rejoice in the expression of simple, childlike faith, by one whom the world will not easily suspect either of having been awed into the popular belief, or of believing one thing, and preaching and printing another. We have been refreshed and strengthened by reading these sermons. It gladdens us to know that one, who has stood so prominent among the champions of liberty and progress in religion, retains so firm an attachment to that basis of miracle and inspiration, on which alone, as we think, Christianity can rest. These Discourses recognise the distinction between Natural and Revealed Religion, the insufficiency of the former of itself both as to doctrine and evidence, and man's deep need of an express and authoritative revelation from the Author of his being. They are so rich in just and striking thought, that to give a fair analysis of them would be to reprint them entire. We will therefore content ourselves with a couple of extracts for the benefit of those of our readers into whose hands the pamphlet has not fallen. We quote first a sound and logical critique upon the vague way, in which it has of late become fashionable to talk and write of *intuition* as the sole basis of faith. The author has been illustrating the old *a posteriori* argument for the existence of a designing first cause from the marks of design in creation. He adds;—

"Some persons of late, have taken upon them, to repudiate this argument from design, — and indeed all *argument* in the case. They say we have an *intuition of God*, or we have no knowledge of him any way.

"But what now is the province of intuition? How far does it extend? What facts does it embrace? I cannot tell what other men's intuition is, but I will tell you what mine is. I know not what a *German* intuition may see, but I know what mine sees. I see, — that is, I perceive with certainty, what I experience, — no more. My intuition embraces the facts of

my consciousness, — nothing beyond. But my experience is not God. The facts of my consciousness are not God, — except according to some Pantheister dreaming. And therefore to say that I have an immediate intuition of God, is an absolute contradiction of ideas; it is to use language without any intelligible meaning.

"This conclusion can be evaded only by setting up a new definition of intuition. If intuition be equivalent to consciousness, it is plain that, strictly speaking, I can be conscious of nothing but what passes within me. If intuition refers to what is self-evident or certain, we are brought to the same conclusion. For nothing is certain to me, nothing is self-evident, but what I perceive, feel, know in myself. The 'first truths,' as they are called, — that is to say, the axioms, whether of Morals or of the Mathematics, are of this character. That benevolence is right; that two and two make four; that the whole is more than a part, — these axioms are nothing but descriptions of the state of my own mind. And by this circle, — that is, by the circle of my experience, to *my* apprehension, all absolute certainty is bounded.

"I have indeed the fullest belief in things out of this circle. I have the fullest belief in the being of a God. But I cannot say that I have an intuition of God. The truth, that he is, is not given me by consciousness, nor is it any way a self-evident truth. The being of a God is correlative to my consciousness, is implied by my consciousness, but it is surely no part of my consciousness.

"In short, between my intuition and the being of a God, there is a step of evidence. What I perceive in myself, what I see around me too, evinces by the plainest reasoning the existence of a moral and intelligent Creator. This old way of proceeding, this process of reasoning, is held by some to be quite unsatisfactory. They say it proves that there is a Creator of this world, but does not prove that he is God; this Creator may have been himself created. Grant it for argument's sake. Then this chain of causes must at length bring us to the Supreme Cause. But this hypercriticism does not disturb me. The Being who made me and made the world, to *me* is God. The rejectors of this way of reasoning, of the logical method, call it logic-grinding, and material philosophy, and I know not what; and claim to be in possession of a more spiritual philosophy. If they had said of a more mystical, I must think they would have adopted a more appropriate word. For in truth, they ought to maintain, as I conceive, that they have discovered a new faculty in the mind, — unknown to all former philoso-

phy; and that is a faculty which takes as certain a cognizance of things without the mind, as consciousness takes of things in the mind. Intuitive seeing with them, instead of being confined within the modest bounds assigned to it by all former philosophy, penetrates through the universe and reaches the Supreme Cause at a glance." — pp. 10, 11.

We know not how, in justice to our readers, to shorten the following extract upon the authenticity, importance, and religious uses of the Christian miracles. We would that the sober, earnest sentiments of these paragraphs might be well weighed by those, who are beginning to think lightly of the alleged seal of the Almighty, and to resolve Christianity into a mere system of Naturalism, wrought out by a mind of singular purity and power.

"Something that is *called* miracle, it must be admitted at the least, is found in the New Testament. What is it? Certainly, it is something very wonderful; to all appearance it touches the very order of nature; so it strikes the minds of the astonished beholders; and they say, 'since the world was, it hath not been heard that any man hath opened the eyes of one born blind,' and 'we know that thou art a teacher come from God; because no man can do these miracles that thou doest, except God be with him;' and our Saviour does not reject this conclusion, but admits it as true. What then, I say again, is this thing that is done? And I must confess that I know not what to think of the state of that mind which, professing to receive the religion, can say that the conclusion was all a mistake; that the thing done was a miracle only to the ignorance of the people; that there was no departure from the order of nature; that the sick were healed, and the dead raised, by the vitality of some powers of which we are ignorant; that the reality of a miracle cannot be admitted. This way of thinking, in one who professes to reverence Christianity and its Founder, is to me utterly incomprehensible. It would drive me farther from all religion, from all faith. If such things can be permitted; if such delusions can be effected under the government of God, I should distrust the very evidence of natural religion. If I did not believe in the miracles with *my* view of the matter, — I should not only be no Christian, but in a fair way to be no religionist of any sort.

"But once more, and in fine, if these are admitted to be veritable miracles, to be what they profess to be, then I cannot understand how they should be lightly regarded; how their im-

portance should be decried or diminished or spoken of with indifference or scorn. What if natural religion *can* stand without them? What if they do *not* prove that we ought to love God or to love one another? What if they address, and therefore presuppose, as most certainly they do, a natural reverence and religion in the human heart? Is it nothing that such a communication is made? — a miraculous communication, or a communication sealed by miracles? Is it anything less than a most amazing and delightful fact? Suppose that miracle added nothing to natural religion in any way, — nothing either of light or of confirmation; suppose that it was merely a seal which it had pleased the Almighty Being to set upon the excellence of Jesus Christ and the importance of his teachings; would it not be unspeakably precious? A voice from the infinite silence! — an interposition, breaking through the staid uniformity of nature, to express the paternal interest which heaven takes in our welfare! — what could be more interesting?

"Nay, it is precisely the manifestation that the cultivated mind of the world needs, and for which, in fact, it was reserved. It is often referred, I know, for its proper sphere, to dark and ignorant times. But I deny that position. I maintain that miracle is especially needed by enlightened ages. Among rude savage tribes there has always been a sufficient disposition to believe in unseen powers, and to invest them with personality. But as nations emerge from barbarism, a contrary tendency often manifests itself. Speculations, philosophies, falsely so called, come in, — subtile questionings about the nature of God, — vague, mystic, pantheistic dreamings, — doubts about the care and watch of Providence, — principles that sap the foundations of all public and private virtue and happiness. This was very much the character of all Grecian and Roman refinement, when Christ appeared. Something of this has been breaking out from time to time ever since, — marking periods of rash speculation and immature thought, — and it was likely in particular, to reveal itself in the first outburst of a nation's literature, like that of Germany. There was, therefore, special need of a miraculous manifestation in the time of Christ; and I shall venture to add, that German Naturalism stands in the same need now, of the very faith which it denies. The very state of the German mind, in this respect, is an argument with me, for the miraculous element in the Christian system. Nor, is this necessity for interposition a mere imagination of my own. Wise men have often declared themselves predisposed and quite ready to believe, for instance, in the reäppearance of the dead, or in any positive manifestations

from the unseen world, because they have thought that some thing like this was necessary to break in upon the all-imprisoning materialism of society. But this very office is performed for the world, once for all, by the miracles of Christianity. They have spread through all the Christian times a sense of God's paternal interest in his creatures, and of 'the powers of the world to come;' they have struck the heart of the world, even as did the miraculous rod of old, the barren rock; and living waters have flowed, and living verdure has spread its beauty over the track of ages; whereas had religion been left in the hands of the Grecian philosophy, I am persuaded, it would have died away into vague and unfruitful abstractions, and the wastes of death would have overspread the intervening centuries; and we now had been comparatively 'without hope and without God in the world.' Let me not be told that there had still been left, without the miracles, the purity of the Gospel, and the loveliness of the Christ, to touch the heart. They would have been disputable the moment they came into contact with actual life; they would have been doubtful, the moment they touched upon the questions, — what regard and relation has God to us? — and what has he in reserve for us hereafter, or whether he has anything in reserve? — they would have had no seal nor sanction but our own opinion; they would have been subject to every man's construction of their propriety and utility; one would have thought the Christ too sad; another, too strict; another, too limited and Jewish; and all this purity of the Gospel and this loveliness of the Christ, and all the admiration for them, would have dwindled and faded away, as it often has done, into vague reveries and fine sentiments. It would have been like the admiration of Rousseau, — compatible with utter infidelity and unquestionable vices. There are words of Christ, concerning selfishness, concerning pride, concerning revenge, concerning marriage and the general relation of the sexes, which must *not* be taken for anything less than words of authority; which *must not be subject to any transcendental revision;* if they are, the very strength, — the very bone and muscle, if I may speak so, — the very heart of the system is gone!

"I know it is often said, 'what great harm is there about this system of Naturalism? There are many beautiful things in it. What great harm is there in rejecting the miracles? The substance of Gospel truth and love is left. What need is there of looking so very seriously upon a man, — though he does assail your faith in a divine interposition?'

"I judge no man's heart; but I will tell you the state of my

own. Very seriously I must look at this question, at any rate. For I feel deep in my heart and whole being, the need of such a faith; I must confess that the teaching of nature is too general to satisfy the wants of my mind; and that the revealings of my mind, again, are too doubtful and defective for the needed reliance. I am ignorant; I am weak; I am sinful; I am struggling with many difficulties; the conflict is hard, — it seems too hard for me at times; and nature around me, moves on, meanwhile, in calm uniformity, as if it did not mind me, and as if its Author did not regard the dread warfare that is going on within me. The universe lies around me, like a bright sea of boundless fluctuations, — studded with starry isles indeed, but swept by clouds of obscurity, — and whither it is tending and where it is bearing me, I know not. I feel at times as if I were wrapped with an infinite envelopment of mystery; and I ask, with almost heart-breaking desire, for some voice to come forth from the great realm of silence, and speak to me. I say, 'Oh! that the great Being who made the universe, would for once touch, as no hand but his can touch, the *springs* of this all-encompassing, mysterious ORDER, and say to me, in the sublime pause, — in the cleft of these dread mountain heights of the universe, — say to me, I love thee; I will care for thee; I will save thee; I will bear thee beyond the world-barrier, the rent vail of death and the sealed tomb, away, away, — to blessed regions on high, — there to live forever!'

"It has COME! — to my faith, that very word has come, in the mission of Christ." — pp. 15 – 19.

The leading theological question of the present times is that of *authority;* and to the discussion of this we now invite our readers. This is, we say, the leading question; for in our view all others seem insignificant in comparison with it. The Trinitarian controversy was one of great and acknowledged moment, amply worthy of the array of talent and eloquence that was witnessed on either side. The controversy concerning the atonement, which has to a great degree taken the place of the former, is of even higher importance, involving, as it does, the terms of man's forgiveness and salvation. But in these controversies, both parties have acknowledged a common tribunal of final appeal, — both have referred to the authority of Christ and his apostles as plenary and conclusive. The questions raised have been merely those of interpretation. They have been precisely such questions as, in secular matters, are

constantly agitated before our courts of justice, by parties who appeal to the same statute books, to the same decisions and precedents, and who therefore, though they interpret some points differently, agree in many more respects than those in which they differ. But suppose there comes into court a cosmopolite, who denies the supremacy of the law of the land, and the authority of past decisions and precedents, and seeks to plead his cause on his own views of abstract right and intrinsic fitness; how would he stand out in broad contrast to the entire troop of clients and advocates, whose jarring constructions and opposite pretensions would at once seem harmonized in the presence of one, whose theories aimed to subvert from its foundation the whole system on which they had based their respective claims and arguments! Just so does he, who denies the infallible authority of Jesus as his doctrine and spirit are set forth in the New Testament, place himself in the broadest contrast to all others bearing the name of Christians, however widely they may differ among themselves. He diverges from them all, long before they begin to diverge from each other; and his angle of divergence from their common track is so great, as to make the angles, at which they subsequently diverge from each other, of small account. Of the extent of this divergence the enemies of authority in religion seem sufficiently aware, and proclaim their theories as constituting a new era in man's religious history. It were well that the friends of authority were equally aware of the importance of the matters at issue, that they might gird themselves for the conflict, not with *ex cathedrâ* denunciations, the day for which has gone by, but with the panoply of truth and reason.

The opponents of authority admit the natural tendency of man to repose implicit trust somewhere. They grant that religious faith in propositions, which are not the result of the individual's own reasoning, is in accordance with the universal laws of mind. They admit authority as a principle; but maintain that it is subjective merely, that it has its basis in the structure of the soul, and not in anything extrinsic. But so far as we can trace the laws of nature, the inward and the extrinsic are mutually correlative, — the subjective finds itself mirrored in the objective, — every native tendency, impulse, or principle of the mind has, in the constitution of things, its adequate provision or endowment. The recognition of any innate idea or yearning points the philosopher at once to some corresponding ex-

trinsic arrangement in the great system. This mode of reasoning has found peculiar favor with the school of philosophy, which puts the least value upon authority; and is perpetually employed by the disciples of this school as infallible and conclusive. Indeed, with regard to the being of God, they set aside the argument from design as worthless, and deem man's innate idea of the Infinite as the best and only sufficient proof that there exists an Infinite first cause.* We therefore press upon them with confidence this conclusion: If man is created with a tendency to implicit religious faith and trust, there must needs exist without the individual soul some adequate basis for implicit religious faith and trust. If reverence for authority is born in the heart of man, authority cannot but have its fixed shrine, cannot but utter its unlying oracles, somewhere in the realm of God's government.

But we are asked, if this innate reverence for authority proves the existence of some authoritative source of truth, how is it that this reverence has so often been misplaced, — that men have often deferred implicitly to the authority of impostors and of the self-deluded, — that as firm faith has been reposed in Mahomet or in Mother Ann Lee as in Jesus Christ? In reply we would ask, how is it that man's innate idea of the Infinite has often found satisfaction in the worship of a graven image or a monkey's tooth? Or, (to take an analogy which we ourselves would admit,) how is it that man's natural idea of extended space has not always been connected with a correct geography and astronomy, but has often filled its unseen domain with the most grotesque and fantastic creations? The soul's innate ideas are not knowledge; but are an inward feeling after truth, — they frame questions, which the soul puts to the universe of God, — they yearn for realization; and from the very intensity of this yearning, they often stop short of that to which they tend, — stop at the broken cistern, because the way seems over long to the living water. But the soul's mistakes and fail-

* The great objection to this argument for the being of a God is, that it involves a *petitio principii*. It assumes a harmony a necessary correspondence between the innate and the extrinsic, which is rendered probable only by the existence of an unchangeable, all-pervading Spirit. We regard this argument as conclusive on every subject except the being and attributes of God; but it involves his existence and his all-embracing and self-consistent will as essential postulates.

ures are far from proving that God has implanted in it any idea or tendency, without creating its counterpart, without providing for its realization.

This principle of authority is connected not only with a native element, but with a deep want, an eager yearning of the human spirit. On subjects of such immense moment as the divine nature, duty, accountableness, and a life to come, the soul, (with rare exceptions,) dares not rest on its own lame reasonings and fallible deductions, or on such inbreathings of the Infinite mind as it cannot separate from its own workings. It asks for the express voice and the manifest seal of God. It demands something in the shape of miracle or prophecy,—something that man cannot counterfeit, —something that shall be equivalent to a "thus saith the Lord." It craves some permanent and authoritative source of religious truth, — not only a revelation a manifestation of the divine, but one that shall be "the same yesterday, to-day and forever." Hence this want has generally sought to satisfy itself, not merely by some evanescent gleam of light from the parted heavens, but by some enduring and infallible record of the divine will and truth. Thus to the soul, that attaches itself to the faith of Christ, it is not enough that the Jesus, who walked in Judea eighteen hundred years ago, was divine and infallible, unless the Jesus, whom Matthew and John portrayed, whom Peter and Paul set forth to the churches, be also divine and infallible.— Our conscious ignorance, our felt need of authority prompts the search for *inspired scriptures.* Now on those who deny authority in religion rests the burden of maintaining, that God has implanted this want in the universal human heart, without providing for its adequate supply.

The argument thus drawn is strengthened by the consideration, that this conscious need of plenary authority in religion grows as the mind expands and enriches itself. To the soul, that is growing in knowledge and wisdom, the proportions of truth, the dimensions of the divine character increase faster than its own power of measuring and comprehending them. The wiser a man is, with the more intenseness does he ask, "Who can by searching find out God? Who can find out the Almighty unto perfection?" Similar is the result of increase in virtue and in piety. The more devout a man is, the less of self-reliance does he exhibit in matters of religion, the more diffident does he become of his own intuitions and reasonings, the more earnestly does he listen for the voice from heaven. The reverent and devout

spirit delights more in receiving than in discovering. It cannot, like the ungentle raven, sustain a lonely flight through the vast firmament; but must keep near the ark. Its pinions are wearied and crippled by vague, unguided circuits of exploration through the heavens; it is refreshed and strengthened, only when it moves in commanded duty and prescribed service, when it soars for the prize placed in clear view, when it pursues the track marked out in the boundless ether by rays of living light from the throne of God. Need we specify individual instances in proof of these assertions? To do this would be almost to run through the catalogue of those whom men agree to call great, and to exhaust that of those, whom the suffrages of the race have pronounced eminently good. How strongly was this need of authority implied, expressed, and felt by those master-spirits of the Pagan world, Socrates, Plato, and Cicero! With what a growing earnestness does it betray itself in the lives of such men as Newton and Locke, — men no more remarkable for gigantic powers of research and discovery, than for the simple, childlike docility with which they humbled themselves at the feet of Jesus! Or we might refer to such saints as Fenelon, Pascal, Oberlin, Martyn, Heber, — men, whose secret breasts and most religious hours are laid open to us, and whose growth in grace was not connected with an increased self-reliance, but with a growing humility and self-distrust, and with a more earnest and trustful clinging to what they believed to be the revealed truth and will of God. If there ever lived a man, who had a right to rely on his own intuitions as infallible, it was Fenelon; yet where can you point to a mind, more deeply conscious than his of its own native infirmity and short-sightedness, and of the need and worth of an authoritative revelation from on high? For this need, which even the growing resources of a great mind and a devout heart do not meet, but only render more intense, it is impossible that the Creator should not have made full provision somewhere in the course of his moral administration.

The principle of authority, thus resting on the conscious want of the soul, has its basis also in the necessary constitution and order of the spiritual universe. It grows out of the relation of finite minds to the Infinite mind. It builds itself on the axiom, that "God's ways are higher than our ways, and his thoughts than our thoughts." Though we have seen the contrary asserted both in prose and rhyme, we shall not undertake

to prove, man is not God; for there are some propositions, which can be disproved only by a *reductio ad absurdum*, and in these times, when absurdity has become with many a fundamental law of belief, this mode of argument has lost its force. Man is not God, — his consciousness is not extensive with God's, — he knows less than God does, with regard to truth, right, and duty, with regard to the domain of being yet before him in the endless future, with regard to the history, relations, and destiny of the whole spiritual family. How, except on authority, shall man gain the knowledge of what is without his own consciousness, yet within the consciousness of God? He cannot teach himself what is without and beyond himself. He must on these subjects either remain in darkness, or receive express instruction from the omniscient mind. We say *express* instruction; not that, which flows in upon the soul in such a way, as not to be distinguished from its own ordinary operations, for this affords no certain knowledge, since consciousness does not furnish a sufficient test of truths that lie beyond its own province. This express instruction the very being of a God, whose consciousness embraces infinitely more than ours, would lead us to expect. We should naturally look somewhere for something of this kind. We should expect somewhere to find revelations of those thoughts, which are above ours, attended with signs and seals of divinity too manifest to be mistaken. Such revelations God might indeed make to every soul; but experience teaches us that he does not. True, we rejoice to believe that God is always inexpressibly near, and that his voice often thrills through the depths of our spirits; but of the many voices, that utter themselves within us, we cannot always know the one from the other, — we cannot say of any particular proposition, that presents itself to our minds with the marks and numbers of truth, *This God taught me.* If then God has given, (and it is inconceivable, that he should not,) any certain knowledge of those things, which we need to know, but to which our intuitions do not reach, he must have imparted it to individuals of his human family. Our inquiry then is, who are these individuals? With whom is to be found the divine signature and seal? "To whom has the arm of the Lord been revealed?" Some such individuals we should expect to find somewhere among the multitudes, that have lived, or that now live upon earth; and to their authority reason would bid us bow with implicit faith and entire submission. Thus would the existence of permanent

and rightful sources of authority naturally grow out of the relation of omniscience on the one hand and ignorance on the other, which subsists between the divine and the human spirit.

We have pronounced the question of authority the most important question connected with the theology of the day. But why thus important? If the truth be received and obeyed, of what concern is the basis, on which it rests? If one has the living water, what matters the well from which he thinks it drawn? Why, even admitting those views of religion which set aside authority to be erroneous, should we deem them of sufficient moment to be strongly opposed and deprecated?

We reply, first, that these views exclude the filial element from religion. Jesus uttered no more vital truth, than when he said, "Except ye be converted and become as little children, ye shall not enter the kingdom of heaven." Faith, implicit trust, is the predominant trait of the child-like spirit. The child is conscious of his own ignorance, — knows that he can see but darkly and for a little distance, and that there are those, older and wiser than himself, whose testimony is to him a sufficient "evidence of things not seen." So he, who keeps his true place as a child of God, is aware that he is but the creature of yesterday, with the veil of sense all around him, circumscribed in his every prospect and in need of some one who shall teach him, on authority, of that spiritual world and that future, with which he would gladly become conversant, but which he cannot explore for himself. Recognising the infinite richness of the divine mind, compared with the conscious poverty of his own, he hearkens with filial confidence for the voice of God, and believes and obeys with unquestioning faith what was uttered by him, to whom the Father has borne witness. Now in this child-like attitude of the human soul there is a moral fitness and beauty. By it man retains the image, in which he was created. By it he remains forever a child. And why should he not? We cease to live as children with our earthly parents, not because we become absolutely wise and perfect, but because our mental and moral stature approaches so near theirs, because they in age grow not so fast as we in youth. But did the relative distance in point of prudence, knowledge, and wisdom between parent and child remain through life, it would be fit and lovely in the child of two or three score not only to honor but implicitly to believe and obey his father and mother. We are conscious of a change for the worse, when we drop the filial yoke.

We pass from a warm and genial into a chill, bleak atmosphere. There is almost a consciousness of demerit in our first unguided steps. It contracts the heart, and checks the flow of quick and deep feeling, to commence being a law to ourselves. And in our best moments in life, in our seasons of the truest self-knowledge and the most tender sensibility, how often does the wish come over us, "oh, that I were a child again!" In God's infinite wisdom and knowledge there exists still and forever a basis for that relation, and he, who can yield to authority, who can believe and obey on trust, may before the eternal Father become again and remain forever as a little child, may bathe anew and continually in the fountain of infancy, may never have the sad and dreary consciousness of an unguided walk and an ungoverned life. But he, who rejects the evidence of testimony and authority, and will receive nothing, except on the basis of his own intuitions or reasonings, tacitly says, "I myself am the Ancient of days and the Infinite, — the Truth and the Life, — I need no Father." He may indeed assent to much that Jesus taught; but he loses the moral benefit of that filial faith, which is the fairest ornament of a created spirit, and which alone can sustain an intimate union between the Father in heaven and his human children.

We also object to those views of religion, which set aside authority, on the ground, that they can never be extensively propagated, but must be confined to the few of philosophical minds and retired and contemplative habits. — Many of the moral precepts and doctrines of the gospel had been promulgated before Christ by the philosophers of Greece and Rome. But their teachings were received only by those of kindred spirit with themselves, — they had no hold upon the multitude. They had no voice, which could arrest men's attention in the midst of business or of pleasure, in the heedlessness of ignorance, in the depths of depravity. A religion, which has no sanction except the consciousness of him, to whom it is addressed, demands for its reception a mind already to a great degree enlightened and purified, — a keen and practised moral sense, — an appetency for truth and goodness. It was to minds of this class, that the wise men of ancient times always addressed themselves, and they have left us ample record, that they neither sought nor expected a hearing among either the unphilosophical or the sensual. How different was the course of Peter, when, resting on the basis of prophecy and miracle, he went into an assembly of stubborn, malignant Jews, and preach-

ed Jesus and the resurrection, and "the same day there were added unto the church about three thousand souls!" The whole tenor of his discourse shows, that he adapted his speech to the understanding of the sensual and depraved, that he spake to them of such things as could be proved by that kind of outward evidence, with which they were conversant, that he based his statement of spiritual truth on testimony and authority, and reached their hearts and consciences through the very same laws of belief, by which they had commonly been governed in the affairs of this life. And this is the way, in which the great body of mankind will always need to be brought under the influence of true religion. We grant that, when they are fully baptized into the spirit of Jesus, their own hearts will bear abundant testimony to the truth of his words. But their attention must be awakened, their souls must be roused from the stupor of ignorance, worldliness, or guilt, by evidence that a more constraining voice than man's has spoken, that a more awe-compelling arm than that of God's daily Providence has wrought upon our earth. These truths must be commended to their reflection to their diligent study, to their obedience, to the test of their consciousness, to comparison with their intuitions and reasonings, by the marks and seals of a divine authority. Now the system, which excludes authority as a ground of faith, separates the few from the many, revives the old Pagan notion of one creed for the learned and refined, and another for the multitude, and thus mars the glory of Christianity as a universal religion.

Yet again, we deprecate the denial of authority in religion, because there are times, when all, however spiritual, need to fall back upon authority, and to sustain their inward convictions by the strongest of outward testimony. We are often in imminent moral want or danger, when the light within burns but dimly, when sickness or sudden emergency takes from us the power of clear thought or keen introspection, when we are confused and bewildered by conflicting reasonings or emotions.— Our perils and necessities come to us from without no less than from within;— authority is often arrayed against truth and right; — we therefore need, in addition to all our inward might, the strongest influences from without, the most commanding authority in favor of what our better nature approves and prompts. The conflict of life is for the most part between the inward and the outward, between the unseen and the seen; and miracle,

prophecy, and authority, lying within the realm of the outward and the seen, make that realm as a house divided against itself. Our seasons of severe sorrow peculiarly reveal to us our need of authority in religion. At such times a palsy often seems to rest on our mental powers, our inward resources are not at prompt command, the stricken soul distrusts itself, the light of faith flickers in weariness and doubt, and the spirit looks round for some support, on which it may lean in its exhaustion, — for some object of implicit trust, on which it may fix its dizzy and bewildered gaze till it recovers its steadiness of vision. It is then that man finds everything to reassure and comfort him at the tomb of Lazarus, at the rent sepulchre in Joseph's garden, or in those words, so gloriously attested, "I am the resurrection and the life," while his boasted intuitions and his revered philosophy have fled in the hour of need. And not only in these dark seasons, but when our faith is the strongest and our internal evidence of it the brightest, do we need the voice of authority. The very intensity of our inward belief leads us to look for its signature and to hearken for its echo without. We expect to find what is engraven so deeply on the fleshly tablets of our hearts, written somewhere else by the God, who inscribed it there. The truths, which we cherish so tenderly, we are sure, must have been promulgated by the Almighty in more than one way. And did we find nowhere in the universe the echo of our own convictions, they would seem to be frowned upon and forbidden,— they would grow faint and dim,—they would little by little die out for lack of sympathy and confirmation.

Another ground on which we cling to authority in religion is, that there are not a few of the doctrines of Christianity, which, it is admitted on all hands, consciousness does not teach, and for which, therefore, we must rely on the God-attested word of Jesus and his apostles. Among these doctrines we feel constrained to place the immortality of the soul; and we are confirmed in so doing by observing, that little or no stress is laid on this fundamental article of faith in the writings of those, who deny the authority of Jesus, and that some of them use on this subject language, which implies the loss of individual identity at death, and the reabsorption of every human soul into the divine nature. Consciousness can hardly be vaunted as competent to thread the complex relations, which human guilt has established between God and man. Consciousness cannot teach us the minute and paternal providence of God,

the intercession and continued love of Jesus, the fellowship of the holy dead, the nearness of the heavenly witnesses. These are truths which rest upon authority; and let him who loves them be the last to lay sacrilegious hands upon their corner-stone.

We also deprecate the contempt which many express for authority, and the corresponding exaltation of the individual consciousness, because it presents the domain of spiritual truth under a false and belittling point of view. Ancient astronomers, because they regarded our own little planet as the centre of the universe, had no large and comprehensive views of the system; and could give no satisfactory explanation of its phenomena; but the whole seemed to them dark and narrow. The Copernican system, by sending our planet back to the circumference of creation, revealed the vastness and harmony of the universe, and reflected upon the earth the higher dignity and glory, from its bearing even a humble part in a system so immense and perfect. Christianity, as resting upon the authority of Christ, is the Copernican system of the moral universe. It reveals God as the centre, and all other beings as revolving around him in nearer or more distant orbits. It gives man his place in the circumference of the spiritual universe, but of a universe so vast, that an unspeakable glory rests on its humblest satellite. The philosophy, falsely so called, which comes in its own name, and owns allegiance only to its own intuitions, creates a Ptolemaic system of its own, makes itself the centre, God the dimly descried satellite, visible only insomuch as light from man's tiny soul beams upon him; in fine, degrades the majesty of heaven and earth into a paltry figure of rhetoric.

But those views of religion, which deny the principle of authority, go yet farther. They not only displace, but tend to annihilate the Deity. In a logical mind they can hardly stop short of Atheism. For if there be a God, there must needs be absolute truth, — truth which exists eternal and unchangeable as a part of the Divine Mind, independently of the imaginings or theories of finite beings. This absolute truth, if it exists, may be communicated by God to man; and, if man believes that it exists, he may receive it on the testimony of God through any well authenticated medium. In fine, the existence of absolute truth, once admitted, furnishes a sufficient basis for just such a revelation as God is generally believed to

have made through Jesus. But if man cannot receive truth from without on testimony however surely sealed, it must be because there is nothing intrinsically and absolutely true,—because all truth is relative, existing only in the conceptions of the individual mind, so that opposite propositions are equally true to different minds. And if there be no absolute truth, there can be no self-existing and all-pervading spirit; for, if there be such a spirit in Him, there must be that which is intrinsically and absolutely true.

For these reasons we place the strongest reliance and the highest value on the principle of authority. But we are told by some very excellent people, that truth must now be set forth independently of authority, in order to gain a hearing; for there are multitudes in the community, who will not listen to the testimony of Jesus, and whom the very idea of authority repels and disgusts. That such is the case we are fully aware. But this state of the public mind represents, as we think, not a real want of the soul to be met by religious teaching, but a radical vice of character, which must be rooted out, before any man can be a true child of God. You cannot make a man humble and holy by converting Christ to him, but only by converting him to Christ. What those who despise authority need, is a filial spirit; and, by making Christianity bow and cringe to them, and deny its Author to win their suffrage, you only feed the evil which you ought to cure.

This question of authority suggests many other inquiries of much moment, but none of more importance than this, What constitutes a Christian? What must a man believe or be, in order to merit this title? We may perhaps best answer this question by asking a parallel one, What makes a man a Mahometan? What degree of faith would entitle a man to the religious confidence and fellowship of a devout Mussulman? Suppose that one were to go to Constantinople, and to make his profession of faith as follows: "I have no doubt that Mahomet was for his age a great and good man. There was a divine spirit in him. He saw and unfolded many views of truth and duty, which it was not given to men before him to discern. But his inspiration was in no wise different from mine; and I cannot receive on his authority anything of which I have not the evidence in my own soul independently of him. So far as I receive what he taught, I receive it not because he taught it. As for the Koran, it is on the whole a very good

book; but you would find it much more useful, if you would not believe it so implicitly. It contains many fables, some absurdities, some things which are a libel upon the divine character. As to your fasts and feasts, I doubt whether Mahomet instituted them, or, if he did, whether he intended that they should be perpetual; and, however that may be, they do not belong to *real* Mahometanism, though I have no objection to observing them *under protest*. In fine, though I cannot reverence Mahomet as a master, I am content to receive him as a servant, and doubt not that I shall get more good in using him as a servant, than you can, while you revere him as a master." What would a candid and tolerant Mussulman reply to one, who sought on such a profession to be received into full religious fellowship? Most assuredly in this wise: "You may, my friend, be a wise and good man, — you may be a religious man; but you are no Mahometan; for what you have said of our prophet and of our Koran, you could doubtless say with equal sincerity of every pretended prophet that ever taught, and of the sacred books of every religion under heaven. You must bow to the authority of our prophet, must receive what he said because he said it, before you can with fairness call yourself by his name."

Can the Christian consistently assume any different ground, with regard to the name by which he is called? We see not how he can. A man, who does not acknowledge the authority of Christ, is less Christ's disciple than his own; and Christ stands in no other or higher relation to him, than any philosopher or moralist, who has taught a portion of eternal truth. He might say of Mahomet all that he could say of Christ, and might, with his belief unchanged, claim to be a Mahometan in Turkey, as fairly as he claims to be a Christian in America. He may indeed object to less and assent to more in the teaching of Christ than in those of Mahomet; but there is to his mind no *specific* difference between the two. He approves both, so far as they accord with his independent convictions; he rejects both, where they deviate from his standard of truth and duty. The true position of such a mind is not that of a disciple of any one system, but that of an eclectic in the midst of all systems; nor should he assume the name of one, unless he is willing to burden himself with the accumulated names of all.

But it may be asked, Why cannot a man, who owns not the

authority of Christ, but who for the most part approves his doctrine, claim to be a Christian in the same sense, in which one, who agrees in his philosophical notions with Plato, yet without recognising his authority, calls himself a Platonist? The difference, we reply, lies here. The man, who acquiesces in general in what Plato taught, receives Plato in the aspect in which he presented himself to his fellow-men, — receives him in the only sense in which he claimed or expected to be received. But Christ presented himself in an entirely different aspect, — he claimed belief and obedience "for his works' sake." His authority, his infallibility, the literal divinity of his teachings is a prominent, inseparable article of his doctrine. He presents himself not merely as a faithful seeker after truth, but as a divinely sealed incarnation and manifestation of eternal truth. His declarations are, "The words that I speak unto you I speak not of myself." — "The Father which sent me, he gave me commandment, what I should say, and what I should speak." — "He that believeth on me, believeth not on me, but on him that sent me." — "I am the way, the *truth*, and the life." — "The word which ye hear is not mine, but the Father's which sent me." — "I have given unto them the words which thou gavest me." The four Gospels are full of the most explicit declarations of the same purport. If Christ said what the Gospels represent him to have said, human language cannot express more plainly than his words did, the *distinctive* divinity of his mission. We say the *distinctive* divinity of his mission, for we are told, as if it were a discovery of these latter days, that every man has a mission from God, nor do we doubt it. But is there now living upon earth the man, who could express the fact of his mission from God in such words as we have quoted above, without being guilty either of the most arrant folly, or the most impious blasphemy? The Jews most truly said to Jesus, "Thou blasphemest," and represented him as mad, if he employed phraseology so lofty and unqualified, to express only that kind of authority which attaches itself to the words of every wise and good man.

It has indeed been suggested in some quarters, that Christ might not have arrogated to himself this peculiar authority, but that his disciples, deluded by an excess of veneration and affection, claimed it for him after his death, and have transmitted to us his sayings in an exaggerated form; and some, who deny our Saviour's plenary authority, have maintained that they re-

ceive him in the sense in which he undoubtedly presented himself to mankind, though not in the sense in which the evangelists present him. But the word *Christ* denotes the Christ of history, not the Christ of every separate individual's imagination. The only being, whom we can rightfully call Christ, is the very being, real or imaginary, whose biography is given us by Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John. And the only assignable meaning of the term *Christian*, is a disciple or follower of that very being. It is an unwarrantable perversion of language, to take a name which has a fixed place in history, and appropriate to a conception of one's own brain. We might give the name of Christ to Confucius or Zoroaster just as fairly as we can give it to what, aside from the authority of his biographers, we imagine that Jesus of Nazareth must probably have been. Moreover, by setting aside in important particulars the narrative of the Evangelists, and substituting a Christ of our own device, we must palpably profess ourselves our own disciples, and drop all claim to be called by another's name.

One thing at least is certain, that the apostles and primitive disciples received Christ as an authoritative teacher in the highest and strictest sense of the words. They did not measure his spirit with their own, but submitted their own to his. Their relation to him was that of implicit, child-like faith and confidence. This is sufficiently evident from the coloring, whether authentic or not, which runs through the whole New Testament, and from the declarations which its writers put into the mouths of both Jesus and his followers. It was these primitive disciples that were first called Christians at Antioch ; nor can it be, that any who deny the authority of Christ, are Christians in the sense in which that name was then used. Imagine Peter and Paul, James and John, expressing themselves with regard to Jesus and his doctrines in those tones of patronizing, half-hesitating approval, which have of late grown so common, and you have men as utterly as possible unlike those, under whose charge the infant church grew up, and thousands were added to it in a day.

On the whole then, we know not how to give a more comprehensive definition of the term Christian, than to say that a Christian is one who receives the Christ of our canonical gospels in the aspect, in which those gospels present him, that is, as a divinely commissioned and authoritative teacher. Are we accused of want of charity in thus limiting our definition ? We

reply, that charity has nothing to do with the definition of terms. Charity has no more right than bigotry, to pervert the received signification of words, and to detach them from the ideas, which they rightfully represent. Charity no more compels us to call an honest and worthy unbeliever a Christian, than it does to call a generous and noble-hearted friend of monarchal institutions a republican. Charity, kind as it is, "rejoiceth in the truth," and is above flattery. But what charity is it to confer a name, which we render utterly void of meaning, and incapable of designating a distinction? For if he, who approves a part of what Jesus taught, is thereby made a Christian, what man living is not a Christian? You cannot find any one, however wrong-headed or depraved, who will not cordially assent to some portion of the teachings of Christ. There were many of his sayings, which his most bitter adversaries could not gainsay or resist; and, if the true Christian creed be, "I believe what of Christ's teachings I cannot gainsay or resist, what I am constrained to believe on independent grounds, but no more, nothing on his testimony," then were those who crucified him as truly Christians, as were John and Mary of Magdala. Thus, by endeavoring to extend too far the signification of the term *Christian*, we make it an unmeaning and nugatory title.

We have discussed this subject with the plainness and earnestness, which its importance demands. We have not felt authorized to disguise our sentiments; for we believe that this is to be for the present the great question in our portion of the Christian world; and while we would cherish only kind and respectful feelings for the gifted and worthy men, who are opposed to us, we deem it our duty to them, to ourselves, and to the public to state with distinctness the ground on which we stand. If we can read aright the signs of the times, the various elements of our religious public are in the process of disintegration, to be reorganized by the law of elective affinity. Causes of dismemberment are everywhere at work, while new grounds of sympathy and bonds of union are bringing together those, who used to stand as far aloof from each other as the worshippers on Zion and on Gerizim. The three great principles, that are fast developing themselves, as the grounds of separation and of union, are *faith*, *formalism*, and *self-worship*. The questions that have heretofore agitated us are growing obsolete.

A. P. P.

CRITICAL NOTICES.

1. *A Sermon delivered at the Funeral of the Rev. Ezra Ripley, D. D.* By BARZILLAI FROST, surviving Pastor of the First Parish in Concord.
2. *The death of the Aged: A Discourse preached to the First Church and Society in Concord, Mass., on the morning of Sunday, September* 26, 1841; *the Sabbath after the funeral of their late senior Pastor, Rev. Ezra Ripley, D. D.* By CONVERS FRANCIS, D. D., Pastor of the Congregational Church in Watertown.

THE notices which have already been taken of these excellent discourses, and the interval that has elapsed since the event which occasioned them, render unnecessary any extended remarks or eulogy of our own. Yet we are unwilling to allow the earliest opportunity afforded, by the publication of this Journal, to pass without some brief record of the departure of one, who filled so long an honored place in the churches of the commonwealth, and in the respect and affections of a Christian flock; who, through all the changes and vicissitudes of more than threescore years, including some of the most eventful periods of our political and ecclesiastical history, and times "that tried men's souls," partook of his faithful and assiduous cares. It was the felicity of Dr. Ripley, in a peculiar sense, to "bring forth fruit in old age." His intellectual, scarcely less than his moral qualities, seemed to brighten as he advanced in years. And we read with great respect a sentence, which Mr. Frost quotes from a manuscript journal written by his venerable colleague twenty years ago, and which presents, in a very instructive light, the prevailing feeling of his soul. "I esteem it an important, if not an essential evidence of vital religion, *that the decline of life be the increase of heavenly-mindedness*, and that as the body descends to the grave, the mind and heart ascend towards heaven."

Dr. Francis, in his discourse, exhibits a fine picture of a virtuous old age, and repeats the recipe, which a wise and bold Mandarin once gave to an emperor of China, who was proposing, after the example of three of his predecessors, to swallow an elixir, which they thought would bestow immortality: "The best way of prolonging life, and making it happy, O, Emperor, is to control your appetites, to subdue your passions, and practise virtue." Dr. Ripley, under the higher influences of a Christian faith, seems to have adopted this recipe; and he had his reward.

"His old age," says Mr. Frost, "was the most remarkable part of his life, and perhaps of any individual's in the community. There was a progress in his knowledge and opinions. He continued to hear read all the new views that came out; and although decidedly opposed to some, yet he was not alarmed. He confided in the power of truth, and believed that something might be learnt from all classes of minds. His deep and lively interest in all that was going on in society, and particularly in his own parish, continued unabated. The freshness and warmth of his sympathies retained almost a youthful glow. It was by this means that he attracted the young to him, and caused them to enjoy his society, and love him like a father. And like the sainted Bulkley, 'by a sort of winning, yet prudent familiarity, he drew persons of all ages to come and sit with him, when he could not go and sit with them.'"

Dr. Ripley's whole ministry and character are valuable for the example and encouragement they afford to his professional brethren; and particularly to those who have passed the meridian of their days. Like his cotemporaries and friends, Drs. Bancroft and Thayer, they show, that there are improvements as well as services for old age, and high personal enjoyments, connected with the good influences that venerable years can exert. They teach, that much work and honorable may still be reserved for him, who having served one generation is willing to serve another. Dr. Ripley, as has been remarked once and again by his warmest eulogists, had no pretensions to learning nor to any of those intellectual qualities, which, while they naturally command admiration, remove the individual from the multitude of mankind. But he had that which was better; without which genius, and learning, and even eloquence in a minister may prove but a snare. He had reverence for God's truth, which kept him from fables; he had sound judgment, which made him a companion with the wise; he was faithful to his conscience, that so his heart should not reproach him; he was faithful to his gifts, never ceasing to improve them for his Master's use; he loved his profession, and all them that belong to it; and he was a lover of souls, and therefore was wise to win them. Nor may we doubt for a moment, that of the thousands who have been instructed by his lips, who have been the subjects of his monitions, consolations, and prayers, he has found multitudes for the seals of his ministry, and his exceeding great reward.

The Christian Psalter: A Collection of Psalms and Hymns for Social and Private Worship. Boston. 1841. Little & Brown.

The preface to the Christian Psalter informs us that the

compiler is the Rev. W. P. Lunt, of Quincy. The volume contains seven hundred and two hymns; constituting one of the largest collections that has been published. Whether it be equally well suited with some others to the purposes of congregational worship, can only be known by trial, and we forbear to give any very decided opinion. We see, however, no reason for doubting that it would give satisfaction in the use; the principles on which the selection is made, and the good judgment with which they are for the most part applied in practice, commend themselves entirely to our approbation. We think that we have noticed an occasional violation of the principles laid down, and sometimes an adhe ence to them where departure would have been better. Some pieces seem to have been introduced rather as specimens of the antique, — for example, those of Sternhold and the New England Version, — than because of their intrinsic value or adaptedness for present use. We should have been glad also to have seen a larger number of the fine modern compositions, for which some of the selections from the old writers might well be exchanged. We occasionally miss a stanza from a familiar hymn, which seems to us mutilated by the excision. We find one, the six hundred and twenty-third, ascribed to the "Episcopal Collection," which we have always supposed originated in Belknap's Collection; and another, (the admirable Christmas hymn, two hundred and nine,) put down as "anonymous," which, we suppose we are telling no secret in saying, was written by the Rev. E. H. Sears, of Lancaster. It was first printed in the Boston Observer, under the initials of its author, and has since appeared anonymously among the supplementary hymns of Greenwood's Collection. It is too good to be kept straying about the world without its parentage being known. And finally, — to finish our little exceptions, there are several with a tone more warlike than we should like to hear either read or sung in a Christian congregation.

On the other hand, the merits of the compilation are very great and decided. It seems almost unfair to name anything else. When we reflect how exceedingly difficult it is to make a selection from the mass of devotional poetry, which shall be acceptable, we do not say to *all*, — but even to a considerable number; — when we remember the ill success and entire failure of many attempts, made by men in whose judgment we should beforehand have implicitly relied; we are inclined to express surprise that one succeeds, rather than to wonder at mistakes. And though we have thought it but just to hint at the deficiences above named, we feel it still more just to

express, on the whole, a strong approbation. The method, which is new, is very clear and perfect; the index to the psalms is a most valuable addition. The copious extracts from those chiefs of sacred lyrists, Watts and Doddridge, stamp a peculiar value on the book. The attempt to bring again into our churches the best productions of Mrs. Steele is to be greatly commended. We heartily like, also, the principle of restoring the original reading to the hymns that have been altered; it is an act demanded alike by justice and taste. And yet, it must be acknowledged, that some alterations were made so decidedly for the better, and some have so gained a right to their place by long prescription, that they ought not to be restored. We do not assent, therefore, to some of the restorations introduced here. We think Watts's hundredth Psalm, for example, injured by refitting to it the original first line, which has so long been absent as to have become an entire stranger, whose return is unwelcome and obtrusive. For half a century, at least, — that is, ever since the days of the "Lock Hospital Collection," when "Denmark" was first published, we have been reading and singing,

> "Before Jehovah's awful throne
> Ye nations bow with sacred joy."

We do not see that anything can be gained by going back to the lines as originally written,

> "Nations, attend before his throne
> With solemn fear, with sacred joy" —

except to make us wish that they had been forgotten. Still the principle in itself is the true one, and has been well applied; as for example, in the readings of Dryden's "Veni, Creator Spiritus," by which that hymn is greatly enriched, in the present collection.

But it will not do to begin with particulars; there would be no end to it. It is enough that Mr. Lunt is to be congratulated on his success, in making a book so well adapted to the ends of public worship, and which cannot prove other than acceptable wherever it shall be used.

Theory of Teaching, with a few Practical Illustrations. By a Teacher. Boston: E. P. Peabody. 1841.

The claims of education upon the favor of the community have of late been mainly advanced on the ground of its utility in preserving public order and protecting property. It has thus

become apparent that the true idea of culture as the worthy training of the infinite soul has but a weak hold upon the public mind; and, what is perhaps a still more discouraging fact, that too many of those who profess to have the interests of schools nearest to their hearts, act and argue without the dimmest perception, that they are attributing a primary importance to what is quite secondary in its character, — that they are degrading the highest and most sacred relations of humanity into a convenience, — that they are bearing up the ark of God with unholy hands.

We remember no work on education, which seems so well calculated to supplant the current notions on this subject, as the unpretending little volume we are now noticing. Protests against them, loud and earnest, have not been infrequent; but, for the most part, they have been couched in such a dialect, and addressed to circles so select, as to do little towards the direct accomplishment of their object. But none, we believe, who may read this "Theory," can fail to see how dignified is the position of one who makes it the pleasure and employment of life to develop harmoniously the faculties of a soul which is to last an eternity; and to see the unworthiness of any other statement of the teacher's vocation. And yet not a single expression in the book, so far as we remember, indicates any purpose of opposition to existing arrangements, or even a consciousness that, were the views of the writer to become general, another set of views would be certain to lose their influence.

We cannot help regarding this as a sincere book, — as a genuine record of experience, — as written from the heart to the heart. One sees at a glance that the authoress is no amateur teacher, but an excellent and accomplished person, who has devoted herself with cheerfulness and hope to a life commonly reckoned unattractive, with the determination to wrestle with its difficulties, until they shall confess themselves angels in disguise, and departing bless. It is at once apparent, too, that she does not toil painfully up an ascent in assuming the office of teaching the young of her own sex, but descends to it, as it were, from above. Evidently one who has drawn in wisdom from the highest sources is giving it out to little girls in the humblest ways and with the humblest spirit; and that too, when a capacity of instructing many who sit in high places as teachers of grown men, is shown in every page; and a literary talent evinced, which puts her on a level, to say the least, with our most accomplished lady-writers.

But though written in so high a spirit, this is an eminently practical book. Our authoress has learned by experience, that

life is made up of every-day occurrences as well as of great crises; that common attainments have their value as well as exalted virtues; that the former are often, and always may be made to be, the ministers of the latter. She has satisfied herself, that to overcome slight obstacles in childhood, is the surest pledge of being able to rise superior to great difficulties in maturer days; and that prudence requires us to learn perfectly many uninteresting things then, without a knowledge of which we should make but a poor figure in after life. And the main object of the book seems to be to give, in connexion with some pretty high doctrines about general culture, methods of making the closest pursuit of elementary studies acceptable to the minds of children. For throughout the book runs a most lively sense of their claim to be treated as reasonable beings. The writer would never coax her pupils to learn a lesson for the sake of pleasing their teacher, but in all cases where there was a want of interest manifested, would assure the child of the pleasure and utility to be derived from attention to the slighted task, and of the impossibility of further progress in that direction, until the difficulty was surmounted.

To go into any minute analysis of the contents of this little volume, would carry us far beyond our limits. It is made up of letters, which "are part of a real correspondence, begun in order to systematize the writer's own theory and practice. The position of governess was assumed as the most favorable one for carrying out completely her ideas on education." The ten first letters contain the views of the authoress on the general subject of female education; the remaining fourteen are principally occupied with a detail of her specific methods of teaching its various branches. Hints, which we should esteem as likely to be of great value upon the best ways of instruction in reading, spelling, arithmetic, geography, grammar, &c., abound therein. And we feel that we are performing a thankworthy service in commending this Theory of Teaching not only to the study of those engaged in the management of schools for little misses, and to the favorable notice of mothers and elder sisters, but also to the attention of the friends and advocates of education generally. Not that we would pronounce it a faultless book, for that would involve the necessity of endorsing the atomic and various other theories, on which we do not feel called upon to pass judgment here. But we would say, that all which it contains strikes us as worth consideration at the hands of those to whom it is virtually addressed, and that by far the greater part challenges approbation at once.

We are glad to see, that the concluding paragraph encoura-

ges the hope of something more complete from the same pen, so soon as further experience shall have shed its guiding light. In the mean time we hasten to greet the volume already published, with the welcome it deserves; and beg leave to express our trust, that its gifted authoress will find the task she has chosen to devote herself to, its own exceeding great reward.

Anthon's Classical Dictionary. Harper & Brothers. 1841. 8vo. pp. 1423.

This book is a great enlargement of its predecessors. It contains copious materials, drawn from the writings of recent scholars, in the departments of biography, literary history, and mythology. But the work is not equal to the materials. To reverse the old saw, *Materia superat opus.* Dr. Anthon has not a good intellectual digestion. He has brought together an immense collection of information from various sources; but he has used it with little judgment. He exercises no critical skill in selecting what is to the point; he has not taken the trouble to sift contradictory statements, but puts them all in, apparently without seeing their inconsistency. A great many things which so big a book ought to contain are left out. Whoever should undertake to read the first two books of Herodotus with the aid of Anthon's geographical articles, would find a very large portion of the names omitted. It would be impossible to make out a connected view of any one entire department of ancient literature from his literary biographies. Among the ancient artists more than two thirds of the names are not to be found. Dipoenus and Scyllis, not to mention others, — names that occur in the slight sketch of ancient sculpture by Flaxman, are passed over. Much room is occupied to no purpose with undigested speculations upon mythological personages, upon allegorical phantoms, which have bewildered the brains of solemn philosophers and flighty females, and which would have sorely puzzled the old pagans themselves.

The Professor has struck upon rich veins, but he has not been at the pains to smelt the ore. If he would rewrite the entire work, combine the scattered information contained in his authorities, under the guidance of his own original researches, reject a vast quantity of crude and useless matter, supply its place with an equal quantity of useful matter, now not found there, but easily to be found elsewhere, see that his dates are correct, and his references right, he would make a capital book. But this is not Dr. Anthon's way of doing things. If it were, he would make fewer books, but so much the better; better for his own reputation, and for the scholarship of his disciples.

Poems: Narrative and Lyrical. By William Motherwell. Boston: Ticknor. 1841. 12mo. pp. 220.

It is not easy to see why this volume should have received so much praise, as in some quarters has been lavished upon it, nor why it should have been thought worth while to republish it. The author, so far as we may judge from this collection of his pieces, was a man without genius, though not without a sort of mocking-bird talent. He seems to have written not so much because there was any impelling inspiration which he could scarcely resist, as because he found himself possessed of a facility at combining words together, not without occasional spirit and tenderness of feeling, in the authorized forms of metrical composition. In one or two instances, perhaps, he rises above mediocrity; but there is not a single piece in the volume which, either for the perfection of its workmanship, or the elevation or originality of the thought, any one would wish to read a second time, or, which is the true test of lyrical excellence, store away among good things in his memory.

American Criminal Trials. By Peleg W. Chandler. Vol. I. Boston: C. C. Little & James Brown. 1841. 8vo. pp. 456.

We lament our want of space, to notice, in a proper manner, the work whose title is given above. It strikes us as one of the most interesting publications of the day, and admirably calculated to make deep, as well as just, impressions on the mind of the student of American history. The peculiar advantage of this form of history is, — and history it eminently is, — that it imparts to its subjects the lively charms of reality. Events read in the drier form of the classical historian, and soon forgotten or dimly remembered, here live before the mind, and leave traces as ineffaceable as if they had been actually witnessed. Let even a child read the trials for witchcraft, of the Quakers, and of the soldiers concerned in the Boston Massacre, — falsely so called, — and he will rise from their perusal with clear and definite convictions of the right and the wrong in each case, — convictions he could have gained in no other way so well.

These trials, it is scarcely necessary to add, are divested of all unintelligible and repulsive legal technicalities, and made agreeable to the general reader. The press has done its office uncommonly well.

NEW AND RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

Egmont: A Tragedy in five acts. Translated from the German of Goethe. Boston: James Munroe & Co. 1841.

The Poems of John G. C. Brainard. A new and authentic collection, with an original memoir of his life. Hartford: Edward Hopkins. 1842. 12mo. pp. 186.

The publishers of this volume have but done justice to the memory of Brainard, by the neat and tasteful form in which they have now given an authentic collection of his poems to the public. Two editions have preceded this; one in 1825, by the author himself, and the second a few years after his death, into which several pieces gained admission not written by Brainard. The present edition is accompanied by a well written memoir, giving the prominent facts in the life of the poet, a slight sketch of his character, and a criticism on his writings, sensible, modest, and impartial.

Mission to England in behalf of the American Colonization Society. By Rev. R. R. Gurley. Washington: W. W. Morrison. 1841.

The precise purpose of this mission will be seen in the words of Mr. Clay. Mr. Gurley, he says, has been appointed "an agent to proceed to England, to promote the interests of the said Society; to explain and enforce its objects; to remove prejudices against it; to communicate with the friends of African colonization and African civilization in Great Britain; to conciliate public opinion in that kingdom towards the American Colonization Society," &c. The volume contains an account of the mission.

The Philosophy of Popular Ignorance. By John Foster. Boston: James Loring. 1841.

A reprint in a cheap form, for wide distribution.

Man a Soul; or the inward and the experimental evidences of Christianity. By A. B. Muzzey. Boston: W. Crosby. 1842.

A volume of practical religion, on the principles of the spiritual, or Transcendental philosophy.

Illustrations of the Law of Kindness. By Rev. G. W. Montgomery. Utica. 1841

A book with an excellent purpose, sufficiently well executed, and like a gentle rain, must do good wherever it goes.

Watts's Improvement of the Mind. Revised by Rev. Joseph Emerson, of Wethersfield, Conn. Boston: James Loring.

Prepared with questions, for the use of schools.

Address delivered before the Harvard Musical Association, August 25, 1841. By John S. Dwight.

"The true office and dignity of music" is the subject of this address, written, we need hardly say, in a spirit of the finest enthusiasm, and of the truest appreciation of the divine art.

The Church. A discourse delivered in the First Congregational Unitarian Church of Philadelphia, Sunday, May 30, 1841. By W. E. Channing. Philadelphia. 1841.

Some of the duties which one Christian denomination owes to another. A Sermon delivered in the South Congregational Church in Lowell. By H. A. Miles. 1841.

Claims of Civil and Ecclesiastical History as indispensable branches of Ministerial Education. A Discourse delivered in the Chapel of the Hamilton Literary and Theological Institution. By George W. Eaton, Professor of Civil and Ecclesiastical History. Utica. 1841.

Lecture on the Beauties of History, delivered before the Monumental Lyceum of Baltimore, June 5, 1841. By William F. Giles.

The Sixth Report of the London Domestic Mission Society, with the proceedings of the Annual General Meeting, held in Carter Lane. Richard Kirder, 1841.

The Domestic Mission Society of the Unitarians in London, on the plan mainly of Dr. Tuckerman, we are happy to learn from their report, is decidedly prosperous, owing chiefly to the labors and zeal of their missionaries, R. K. Philp, and W. Vidler.

First Annual Report of the Birmingham Unitarian Domestic Mission Society, &c.

It is matter of sincere congratulation, that the Unitarians of Birmingham have associated themselves together for the support of a minister at large in their city. Their first missionary is the Rev. Thomas Bowring; from his address and monthly reports, we should infer him to be well fitted for his important office. All success attend the excellent work.

The Sixteenth Report of the British and Foreign Unitarian Association, &c. London. 1841.

A Translation of Uhlemann's Syriac Grammar, by Rev. Enoch Hutchinson, of Newton, will, we understand, soon be published.

Erratum. — For S. J. H., the signature of the Article on Monaldi, read L. J. H.

INDEX.

A.

Adams's (President) Letters addressed to his wife, noticed, 263.

Agriculture in the United States, an Address by Henry Colman, noticed, 277.

Allston, Washington, his Monaldi reviewed, 374.

Austin's German Prose Writers, 277.

Authority, the leading question of the times, 387 — importance of, illustrated, 388 — the reverence of, and craving for, innate, 388 — even as the idea of the infinite, 389 — the need of, increases with the growth of the mind, 390 — its basis in the necessary relations of the finite to the infinite, 391 — objections to the views which deny it, considered, 393 - 398 — what constitutes a Christian? 398 - 402.

Azores, a Winter in the, by Joseph and Henry Bullar, reviewed, 349 — great beauty and attractions of the Islands in climate and products, 320 — their arrival at St. Michael's, and landing, 321 — a ball described, 323 — great civility of the inhabitants, 324 — Ponte Delgada, 325 — management of trees and their bearing, 325 — hot Springs of the Furnas, 327 — pass the winter at Villa Franca, 330 — cheapness of living, 330 — no inns, 331 — Fayal, 332 — character of the Catholic Religion there, 333 — the observance of Sunday, 336 — visit to the Caldeira, 337 — Corvo, Flores, 338 — residence at the Furnas, 342 — account of the baths, 343 — d seases and climate of the Islands, 346.

B.

Banking, and the Bank of the United States, article on, 1 — uses of banking, 2 — its abuses, 4 — table of the condition of Banks in the United States at various eras, 9 — excessive power in the President of the United States Bank, 10 — Mr. Biddle's administration, 14 — violations of charter, 18 — fraud and carelessness, losses from, 20 — political interference, 25 — fluctuations of the monetary system, 29 — cotton speculations, 32 — discounts and loans, 35 — final embarrassments, 36 — concluding remarks, 37.

Bartlett Elisha, Dr., his Vindication of the females employed in the Lowell Mills, 136.

Blanchard, Amos, his address delivered at the consecration of Lowell Cemetery, 138.

Buckingham, Edgar, his Sermon on Christian union, 134.

Burial of the dead, 138 — should be with appropriate rites, 139 — actual manner of in the great cities of Europe, 140 — should be with security, 144 — with honorable observances, 147 — the moral uses of, 148 — modes of, that have chiefly prevailed, 156 — Inhumation, 156 — Embalming, 158 —

Desiccation, 159 — Cremation and urn-burial, 159 — various other modes, 159 - 164 — funeral rites, 181 — of the Romans, described, 282 — rites preparatory to the funeral, 183 — at the funeral, 184 — the burial, or burning, 235 — their sepulchres, monuments, and inscriptions, 290 — the period of mourning, 293 — places of sepulture, 294 — changes introduced by Christianity, historical sketch of, 294 - 302 — modern return to the ancient use of rural cemeteries, 303 - 307.

C.

Christianity, a supernatural revelation, 350 — Shown to be so by the miracles of Jesus, 350 - 358 — by the character of Christ, 358 — by its standing monuments, 360 — by the nature of the mind, which expects and welcomes the supernatural, 362 — but supernaturalism becomes extreme and exclusive, 363 — making nature a machine, 364 — revelation a mere scheme, 365 — man an automaton, 366 — rationalism also errs, 368 — its faults, 369.

Christian Psalter, the, noticed, 404.

Chronicles of the Pilgrim Fathers, by Rev. Alexander Young, reviewed, 116.

Churches, custom of burial in, when introduced, 299.

Collison, George, his cemetery interment, 138.

Colman, Henry, his Address on Agriculture in the United States, noticed, 277.

Comprehensive Church, the, by the Rev. Thomas Vail, noticed, 129.

Communion, the, essay on the uses of, and the propriety of a general attendance on, 194, 208.

Confessions of an English Opium Eater, noticed, 274.

D.

Davidson, Margaret Miller, her biography and poetical remains, by Washington Irving, noticed, 269.

Dead, burial of the, 137 - 164, and 281 - 307.

Dewey, Orville, Rev., his two discourses on the nature and province of natural, revealed, and experimental religion, reviewed, 382 — quoted largely, 383 - 387.

Difficulties respecting an attendance on the communion considered, 205.

E.

Ecclesiastical standards and established churches, their practical working argued out, 209 - 221.

Egyptian (ancient) manners and customs, 39.

Ellis, Rev. G. E., his oration in commemoration of the battle of Bunker Hill, noticed, 133.

F.

Fragments from German prose writers, by Sarah Austin, noticed, 279.

Funeral rites of the Romans, described, 282.

G.

Gardening and rural and church architecture, an essay on the popular taste in, 60 - 82.

H.

Hovey's Monthly Magazine of Horticulture, recommended, 82.

I.

Ingersoll, Rev. G. G., his Sermon on the death of Christ, noticed, 131.

Irving, Washington, his biography and remains of M. M. Davidson, 269.

Italian Music, 94.

K.

Kirchmanni, Johan: de funeribus, Romanorum, 138.

L.

Livermore's Commentary on the Four Gospels, noticed, 127.

M.

Mesmerism, Townshend's facts in, noticed, 276.
Monaldi, by Washington Allston, reviewed, 374.
Motherwell's Poems, noticed, 410.
Mosaic history, argument for the truth of, drawn from the agreement of ancient Egyptian monuments and remains with, 39 — as regards historical events, 42 — the buying and selling of slaves, 44 — implements of war, 45, — intercourse between Canaan and Egypt, 45 — abundance of gold and jewelry, 46 — brick-making, 47 — music and musical instruments, 48 — the manufacture of sacred and domestic vessels, 52 — and linen, 54 — articles of dress, 56 — engraving on precious stones, 56 — glass-making and various other arts, 57 - 60.
Music, moral and religious benefits of, 83, 84 — improvement in, in New England, 85 — Italian, 94 — Cantabile style of, 96.

N.

New England, state and improvement of music in, 83 - 88.

P.

Panseron, M., his treatise on singing, reviewed, 83 — merits of, 88 — highly recommended as an aid in the cultivation of the voice, 90 — physiology of the voice, 91 — vocalization, 92 — errors in musical instruction, 93.
Parker, Theodore, his discourse on the transient and permanent in Christianity, reviewed, 98 — his doctrines on the Old Testament argued against, 99 - 103 — on the New, 104 - 114 — other opinions advanced, coufuted by those who have defended Christianity, 114 — many of the ancients desired a revelation, 115.
Parisian Linguist, noticed, 275.

R.

Ripley, Ezra, Rev. D. D., Sermons on the death of, by Barzillai Frost, and Convers Francis, D. D., noticed, 403.
Robinson's Biblical Researches in Palestine, &c., reviewed, 222 — his fitness for the work, 222 — safety of travelling in the East, 244 — the work cited, describing at length his preparations for the journey through the wilderness, 224 - 227 — his judgment concerning the Exodus, 227 — his abode at the convent on Mt. Sinai, 229 — at Jerusalem, 235 — various excursions from Jerusalem, 241 — return through Samaria and Gallilee to Beyroot.

S.

Self-defence, the right of, 164 — provisions of the law concerning, 166 — opposite judgments, ancient and modern, of, 169 — argued on general principles, 170 — the argument from Scripture on, 178 — prevailing principles and practices in respect to, 183 — the right of force wholly denied by the non-resistant, 190 — both to those who administer the law, 191 — and the government, 193.
Singing schools in Paris, 83, note.
Singing, Panseron's treatise on, reviewed, 83.
Slavery, unconstitutionality of, by G. W. F. Mellen, noticed, 275.
Smyth, Thomas, his "Prelatical Doctrine of Apostolical Succession examined," noticed, 261.
Spear, Charles, his names and titles of the Lord Jesus, noticed, 134.
Spiritual Christianity, I. Taylor's Lectures on, reviewed, 308.

T.

Taylor's Lectures on Spiritual Chris-

tianity, reviewed, 308 — analysis of, with extracts, 309 - 316 — theological position of the author, 316.
Temperance, a sermon on, by H. Ware, Jr., preached in the College Chapel, 252.
Theodore, De Wette's, the translation of, reviewed, 348.
Theory of Teaching, by a Teacher, noticed, 406.
Townshend's facts in Animal Magnetism, noticed, 277.
Turnbull's claims of Jesus, 280.

U.

Uses of the Communion, essay on, 194 - 208.

V.

Vail, Rev. Thomas, his Comprehensive Church, noticed, 128.
Voice, physiology of, 89.

W.

Wicksteed, Charles, his Sermon on creeds and articles, reviewed, 209.
Wilkinson, his Manners and Customs of the ancient Egyptians, reviewed, 39.

Y.

Young, Rev. Alexander, his Chronicles of the Pilgrim Fathers, reviewed, 116 — character of the work, 117 — analysis of the contents of the volume, 117 - 124 — the labors of the editor, 124.